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THE CLASSICAL QUARTERLY

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VOLUME IV

PUBLISHED FOR THE CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION BY
JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET, LONDON, W.
AND
GINN & COMPANY, 29, BEACON STREET, BOSTON, MASS.
1910

GUILDFORD: PRINTED BY BILLING AND SONS, LTD.

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THE CLASSICAL QUARTERLY

JANUARY 1910.

CATULLUS.

NOTES AND CONJECTURES.

iii. 6 sqq.

nam mellitus erat suamque uorat
ipsam tam bene quam puella matrem;
nec sese a gremio illius mouebat, etc.

I have always found it a sore trial of my faith to regard *suam ipsam* as =*suam dominam*, and can only join *ipsam* with *matrem*. This leaves *suam* to stand alone, as =*suam dominam*. That use is doubtless defensible of a wife or mistress in the case of a lover; but it is hardly possible of a sparrow, to whom the lady does not 'belong' in that relation. That one who is not lover or husband may know *suos* is no proof that he may know *suum* or *suam* alone.

I venture to think that a misleading, but not uncommon, position of *-que* (cf. Munro, *Criticisms and Elucidations*, on lvii. 2) has caused a slight textual error, and that we should read 'nam mellitus *eram* suamque | norat ipsam tam bene quam puella matrem, nec sese,' etc.—i.e. 'nam mellitus (ὤν, or 'the darling') eram*que* suam norat tam bene quam puella ipsam matrem, *neque* sese mouebat,' etc. *Eram suam* is almost a compound word, and the position of *-que* is consequently much less awkward than in e.g. lxxvi. 11. [*Erat* for *eram* was an error almost inevitable in some copy. In Plaut. *Capt.* 243, the first hand of B wrote *erunt* for *erum* without any such excuse.]

vi. 12

'Your practices are well known'

nam { ni ista praeualet nichil tacere (G)
     { ni ista . . . . (O)

I do not find Schmidt's suggestion (*iam tu ista ipse nihil uales tacere*) at all convincing, though the *iam* of Baehrens is clearly right. The meaningless INISTAPRAE or NIISTAPRAE contains—in a confused form—the letters MISTERIA. We may keep *ualet*, and read '*iam mysteria nil* ualet tacere'—i.e. 'nothing can

any longer keep hidden your mysterious practices' (or 'secrets'). The corruption and derangement were as natural as in xii. 13, where G gives *nemo est sinum* for *est mnemosynum*.

xii. 1–3

Marrucine Asine, manu sinistra
non belle uteris in ioco atque uino ;
tollis lintea neglegentiorum.

Opinions doubtless differ as to the agreeableness or otherwise of the asyndeton in v. 3. To me it appears peculiarly abrupt, and I would suggest

manu sinistra
non belle uteris, in ioco *ut*que uino
tollis lintea neglegentiorum

—i.e. *ut in ioco uinoque tollis*, etc.

Ibid. 6 sqq.

crede Polioni
fratri, qui tua furta uel talento
mutari uelit : est enim leporum
disertus puer et facetiarum.

It is hard to believe in the genitive with *disertus*. A very bold man might perhaps venture on a genitive form *disertum*, but the error probably lies in *puer*. It is strange that a *puer* should be treated as a better *arbiter leporum ac facetiarum* than a (supposed) elder brother. Moreover, what has a 'boy' to do with paying talents, even hypothetically? We have no proof that the Polio here mentioned is the Asinius Polio of history, and can base no argument upon that assumption. Without the word *puer*, it would be supposed from the context that Polio was the older and wiser as well as the wittier. The proper correction is probably *pater* (i.e. *p̄r* misread as *puer*). The term has nothing to do with the question of age, but *pater leporum* stands on the same footing with *Aureli, pater esuritionum* of xxi. 1, and the *huic semper uitio pater fuisti* of Martial xii. 53, 6 (quoted by Munro at the former place). The expression appears to be colloquial, and to mean one who 'stands for' a certain thing, whether as begetter of it or as the head and representative of its *familia*. Here, though Polio is perhaps the senior rather than the junior, the point is that he 'stands for' good form in wit and humour. He is in such matters what his brother is not, viz. *disertus*.

[After making this emendation, I find from the 'apparatus criticus' of Ellis that it occurs in an ed. of 1481. But I do not know on what arguments it is there based.]

x. 27

†'mane me,' inquii puellae ;
'istud quod modo dixeram me habere,
fugit me ratio,' etc.

Read '*male me!*' = 'confound it!' or 'deuce take me!'—i.e. 'what a stupid I am!' Cf. Plaut. *Stich.* 5, 4, 27: 'bene uos, bene te, bene me, bene nostram etiam Stephanium' (Ov. *Fast.* 2, 637). It is optional to say *male me* (e.g. *habeat deus*, or the like) or *male mei* or *mi* (sit), but the former is the nearer to the text.

xxii. 6

chartae regiae noui libri.

Is not *chartae* genitive? It is hard to see how *libri* can be differentiated from the *charta*.

Ibid. 9–11

haec cum legas tu, bellus ille et urbanus
Suffenus unus caprimulgus aut fossor
rursus uidetur.

I object to *tu* (1) as having no point in itself; (2) because the generic second person subjunctive is not accompanied by *tu*. Since *tū* = *tum*, it is surely better to read (with two MSS. in the British Museum, 'a d' Ellis) haec cum legas, *tum*, etc.

xxx. 4

†nec facta impia fallacum hominum caelicolis placent.

I propose *ne* (the affirmative), used sarcastically and without the question-mark. 'Of course, . . .'

xl. 6–8

quid uis? qua lubet esse notus optas?
eris, quandoquidem meos amores
cum longa uoluisti †mirmice poena.

I do not see how *amare* would be corrupted into *mirmice*. Rather *mir-* = *inir-*' and Catullus wrote *inire* (sens. obsc.).

[As no one seems to object to *eris*, it is perhaps right, although to use it for *ita eris* or *notus eris* (*at in malam partem*) seems very curt Latin. I suspect that Catullus wrote *furis*, and that F and E were once more confused by scribes. The madness would be that of ignoring the *longa poena*.]

xliv. 21

qui tunc uocat me, cum malum librum legit.

The situation is this. Sestius has written a speech (*oratio*), published as a book (*liber*). Catullus is eager to continue to go to Sestius' dinner-parties, because they are good ones. He is not simply trying to earn one (his first) invitation. Accordingly, to keep in the good graces of Sestius, he reads this book, from the ψυχρότης of which he catches a chill. Now he imprecates a similar chill upon Sestius 'who invites me to dinner, when he has . . . a book.' What word is naturally to be supplied? It is not a case of Sestius inviting Catullus when C. has 'read' the book, as if the invitation directly rewarded the reading.

Rather he invites the poet when he has himself *written* a book. Catullus is of course compelled to read it out of civility and with a view to favours to come. To alter to *legi* is a mistake. The tense and person are right, but the word should be *pegit*.

There is perhaps some contempt (at least here) in the sense of *pangere*.

xlv. 8, 9

hoc ut dixit, Amor sinistra, ut ante,
dextra sternuit adprobatione.

Whether we read *dextra . . . adprobatione* or *dextram . . . adprobationem*, I believe, with Munro, that *ut ante* can have no meaning here, but is due to v. 17. Munro suggests *sinister adstans*. Nearer, I think, is

hoc ut dixit, Amor sinister *amanti* | dextram, etc.

—i.e. 'Love on the left sneezed a (right-hand, i.e.) lucky approval to the lover.' Amor was pleased with the *amans*. The omen from the left is a good omen and Catullus puns on the words (in *dextram*).

lxiii. 68

ego †nec deum ministra et Cybeles famula ferar ?

The usual change to *nunc* may be right, but *deum* offers difficulty. It would imply some depreciation of the gods, unless this objection is got over by emphasizing *ministra*.

I would rather suggest ego*ne aedium* ministra, etc.—(*needium* read as *nec deum*), i.e. 'a temple handmaid.' The plural is contemptuous (not, of course, 'the temple' of Cybele = *aedis*), but 'a servant woman of temples,' a humble position for a former *flos guminasi*.

lxiv. 22-23[a]

O nimis optato saeclorum tempore nati
heroes, saluete, deum gens, o bona matrum
progenies, saluete iter. . . .

The loss of the whole line (23[a]) from V is most naturally explained by supposing it to have ended with something very similar to the ending of v. 23. The copyist imagined that he had already written the line. That the ending is omitted by *Schol. Veron. Aen.* v. 80 most probably indicates that it was not only similar, but very similar indeed, to that of v. 23. A natural snggestion is

heroes, saluete, deum gens, o bona matrum
progenies, saluete iterum, *gens o bona patrum !*

Doubtless *suboles* (or *proles*) *bona patrum* is possible, but the cessation of *Schol. Veron.* after *iter-* is made the more probable if all the letters *-um* were the same as those standing above them, with the exception of *p*atrum for *m*atrum.

Ibid. 246 sqq.

Sic funesta domus ingressus tecta paterna
morte ferox Theseus qualem Minoidi luctum
obtulerat mente immemorem talem ipse recepit.
quae †tamen aspectans cedentem maesta carinam
multiplices animo uoluebat saucia curas.
at parte ex alia florens uolitabat Iacchus
cum thiaso Satyrorum et Nysigenis Silenis,
te quaerens, Ariadna, tuoque incensus amore.
†qui tum alacres passim lymphata mente furebant
enhoe bacchantes, etc.

In v. 249 there is some variety of reading (*quae tum pros*pectans). Better sense and connexion may be made with

quae interea aspectans . . .

In v. 254, for *qui tum* . . . I suggest *circum* . . ., without assuming any hiatus. The description here is rapid, though not specially abrupt. No more words are required, inasmuch as the description belongs to a picture (on the *uestis*) which the writer observes point by point. In the one part is Theseus; Ariadne is meanwhile seen on the island; *parte ex alia* is Bacchus; around him are the troop of revellers.

lxiv. 9 sq.

adloquar, audiero numquam †tua loquentem,
numquam ego te, uita frater amabilior,
aspiciam posthac.

Though it would be easy to suggest . . . *tua* (*uerba*) *loquentis*, the conjecture would perhaps not be very likely, since neither the loss of *uerba* (unless through *tuauerua*) nor the change of *loquentis* (especially the latter) would be very natural. Nor is *te dulce loquentem* probable, though *-lce* might disappear before *lo-*. I had thought of both these, but on the whole I am inclined to prefer

adloquar, audiero numquam *te alterna* loquentem,

believing that loss occurred through the repeated syllable *te*, or a confusion between *te a-* and *-tern a.* Perhaps others may see more probability in my *tua* (*uerba*) *loquentis.*

lxv. 12

semper maesta tua carmina morte †tegam.

I think *seram* is a more likely original than *canam.*

lxvi. 8–10

e Beroniceo uertice caesariem
fulgentem clare, quam †multis illa dearum†
leuia protendens bracchia pollicitast.

Perhaps *cunctis* (Haupt) might here be corrupted into *multis*, but it is not a corruption one would anticipate; *deorum* (vulg.) should be read, and, for the rest, I would suggest

quam *uotis mille* deorum.

Of this, *quamuotis* (read as *quāmuotis*) gave *multis* for *muotis*. Considering the exaggerations allowable to the originals of Catullus and customary with himself, there can be no objection to *uotis mille*. The construction *uotis deorum* needs no illustration.

lxvi. 6

dulcis amor †guioclero deuocet aerio

The *guro* of ω is manifestly right, but I do not know whether it has been pointed out that the corruption arose through *cyclo* (which Catullus is translating) written as gloss over *guro*, thus

cyclo
guro > *gu(ciclo)ro.*

lxvi. 15

estne nouis nuptis odio Venus? anne †parentum
frustrantur falsis gaudia lacrimulis?

The nearest word is *patrantum*, which Catullus would not be the less likely to use because it is somewhat direct in meaning. The construction is *frustrantur gaudia patrantum.*

lxvii. 11 sq.

nec peccatum a me quisquam pote dicere quicquam:
verum †istius populi, ianua quippe facit.

Munro's *quippe* is assuredly right for *qui te*, and the sense is doubtless that of Postgate's

verum, *is mos* populi, . . .

But nearer to *istius* would be

verum *ita ius* populi,

i.e. 'so goes the verdict of the people,' which *ius dicit* in the case.

lxviii. 5 sqq.

Sed dicam uobis, uos porro dicite multis
milibus et facite haec charta loquatur anus
* * * * *
notescatque magis mortuos atque magis.

Cannot the blank be approximately filled? After v. 9 occurs the corrupt

iocundum cometas florida ut ageret.

We may, if we choose, take this as an accidental repetition, in a corrupt form, of the verse in lxviii.ª 16

iocundum cum aetas florida uer ageret.

It has at least been influenced by that verse. But why its appearance here at all?

Since a verse is missing here, and an irrelevant verse inserted just below, it is one reasonable hypothesis that the omitted verse was subsequently written in the margin and incorporated in the wrong place. We may believe that it was a verse very much like lxviii.ª 16, and that, when it was to be supplied after omission, the similar verse was written instead of the true one. It would also appear reasonable, to judge from v. 8, which refers to fame after death, that v. 7 spoke of fame or pleasure in life. But, to account for the dropping out of the verse in the first instance, it should either end with letters resembling those of the line preceding, or begin with letters like those in the line following. The conditions are, I think, fairly satisfied by the verse

iocundum *ut capiat*, dum est aetas florida, <*munus*>.

Out of this, *dum ē etas* is represented by *cometas*. The general resemblance to lxviii.ª 16 caused the substitution of that line when the correction was made. The cause of the loss was that the copyist, having ended the line with *anus*, fancied he had ended the line with *munus*. [That Catullus can repeat the same, or practically the same, verse in different poems is seen from lxviii.ª 20-24 compared with lxviii.ᵇ 51-56.]

Of course, I do not rate this suggestion at more than a guess, but I think it is a guess free from mere arbitrariness.

Ibid. 115 sqq.

Seitis felices et tu simul et tua uita
et domus in qua lusimus et domina,
et qui principio †nobis terram dedit aufert.†

Postgate's *domus* <*illa*> *in qua* may be right, but perhaps the loss would be a little more natural in 'in *qua* <*una*>,' where *una* means, not 'my mistress and I together,' but 'we (all—you, your mistress, myself) sported alike, and my mistress also.' The house was shared by the friends in their amours.

The next line I take to be a blessing on the friend who 'introduced' the parties to each other, and this would be expressed by

et qui principio *nos nobis tradidit*, Afer (or Anser).

The loss of *nos* was easy (less so with the order *nobis nos*), while *tradidit* was understood as *terrā dedit*, or rather, perhaps, *tra*- was confused with *t'ā* (=*terram*).

c. 5 sq.

quoi faueam potius? Caeli, tibi: nam tua nobis
perspecta †exigitur unica amicitia.

Perhaps perspecta *auxiliost* . . .

cx. 3

tu quod promisisti mihi quod mentita, inimica's
promisti ω.

We may keep *mentita* by reading

tu, quod promisti, *es* mihi quod mentita, inimica's.

I.e. tu, quod es mentita id quod promisisti, etc.

Doubtless *promisisti* may be only a natural substitution of the common
es
form, but it might come from *promisti mihi.*

cxii.

Multus homo es, Naso, neque tecum multus homo
descendit: Naso, multus es et pathicus.

descendit is, of course, used in a double sense, one being sens. obsc., but I do not understand Scaliger's

neque tecum multus homo*st qui* | descendit,

nor do I see why the *-st qui* should have disappeared, unless it be through some accident to the margin. Such assumptions alone would, however, deprive us of any criterion for restoration beyond the often doubtful criterion of the sense. I think that there is a play upon the senses of *multus*, and would suggest that *non* is lost after *homo*—i.e. *neque* tecum multus *homo non* | descendit = neque non multus homo descendit tecum = plurimi tecum descendunt.

cxiv. 5 sq.

quare concedo sit diues, dum omnia desint:
saltum laudemus, dummodo ipse egeat.

Read

. . . dummodo *ut* ipse egeat,

which differs, of course, from *dummodo egeat*—i.e. 'let us praise the *saltus*, provided it be on the understanding that . . .' or 'provided it results in . . .'

cxv. 1

Mentula habet †instar triginta iugera prati.

I had first thought of *saturi* as tolerably near the letters, since *iustar* would be but a 'nice derangement' of *saturi.* But a vocative is very desirable, and as Postgate finds *uester* sufficiently near in shape, so one might venture on *Vestri,*

I.e. Mentula habet, *Vestri,* . . .

The same Vestrius may also occur in lxx. 3, where for

Aemulus iste tuus qui uestrum exercet amorem

might perhaps be read

Aemulus iste *tuos* qui, *Vestri*, exercet amores.

Tuos might be misconceived as nominative; *Vestri*, first regarded as gen. plur., might become *uestrum*, and, if subsequently regarded as accus., *amores* would be adapted to *amorem*.

xcv. 3 sq.

milia cum interea quingenta Hortensius uno

* * * * *

Hatriensis in uno (Housman) is probably the most satisfactory alteration in the existing line. It seems to be generally agreed that some case of *uersiculi* would occur in the second (the missing) verse. Since any suggestion can only be a guess, I will make no further prefatory apology for guessing

milia cum interea <*ad*> quingenta Hatriensis in uno
<*saepius excudit stans pede uersiculos*>.

No exaggeration can be too great in a passage of Catullus which is both humorous and splenetic. The phrase and association of *stans pede in uno* I take, of course, from Horace. The construction is *excudit versiculos ad milia quingenta*. My reason for putting *uersiculos* at the end is that it offers some reason for the loss, -ERSICVLOS standing below -ENSISVNO.

ADDENDA.

lxiv. 14-17

emersere feri candenti e gurgite uoltus
aequoreae monstrum Nereides admirantes
†illa atque alia† uidere luce marinas
mortales oculis nudato corpore Nymphas, etc.

feri uoltus cannot be those of the nymphs or Nereids. Schrader's *freti* (which would in any case be unnecessary) does not strike me as probable. *Uoltus* alone, if used as nominative, could hardly be in apposition to *Nereides;* and, if as accusative, we should require more support for a transitive use of *emersere* extending beyond the reflexive (*se*). I think *feri . . . uoltus* is sound, but that it refers to other seafolk than the Nereids, e.g. the Tritons, and to sea-monsters. Keeping this line without change, we may, without technical difficulty, read

aequoreae et . . . in the next.

In v. 16 Munro's *illa* (*quaque alia ?*) . . . has always appeared to me awkward, and probably untrue in thought. As in xxxi. 13 Postgate's *liquidae* for *-quelidiae* is entirely satisfying, so here I should find in *-quealia* the word

liquida ; and since *uidere* as a mere error for *uiderunt* is somewhat improbable, I would write the passage thus—

emersere feri candenti e gurgite uoltus,
aequoreae *et* monstrum Nereides admirantes
ibant, ac liquida uidere *in* luce marinas
mortales oculis nudato corpore Nymphas.

Fragm. 2

hunc lucum tibi dedico consecroque, Priape,
qua domus tua Lampsacist quaque †Priape.
nam te praecipue in suis urbibus colit ora
Hellespontiaca, etc.

Better, I think, than the insertion of *silua* (for the loss of which it would be hard to account) would be

qua domus tua Lampsacist quaque *propria sedes.*

My theory is that *pro*priase-, especially as following *-que*, led the eye to pria*pe* (after *-que*) in the preceding line. The ending of that line was accordingly written again instead of *propria sedes.*

T. G. Tucker.

University of Melbourne.

ADVERSARIA ON PLUTARCH'S LIVES.[1]

Theseus.

3 *Θησέως τὸ μὲν πατρῷον γένος εἰς Ἐρεχθέα . . . ἀνήκει, τῷ δὲ μητρῴῳ Πελοπίδης ἦν.* More probably, I think, *ἀνῆκε.*

6 *ἐξῆγεν αὐτόν.* See *Solon* 29 below.

23 Theseus picked out two young men, whom he completely changed (*ὡς ἔστιν ἐξαλλάξαντα κομιδῇ*) to pass for girls. *ὡς ἔστιν* seems unmeaning: *ἔστιν ὡς, he changed in a way completely*, would do.

27 *εἰ μὲν οὖν, ὡς Ἑλλάνικος ἱστόρηκε, . . . περιῆλθον, ἔργον ἐστὶ πιστεῦσαι.* 'It is difficult to believe *that*,' not '*if*.' *ὅτι* and *εἰ*, as elsewhere, have been confused.

Romulus.

19 *ἡρπάσθημεν <μὲν> ὑπὸ τῶν νῦν ἐχόντων.*

The antithesis demands this.

The Sabine women go on to complain that their relatives, after taking no notice of the abduction for some time, are at last trying to tear them from the husbands and children to whom they are now bound by ties of affection, *οἰκτροτέραν βοήθειαν ἐκείνης τῆς ἀμελείας καὶ προδοσίας βοηθοῦντες ἡμῖν ταῖς ἀθλίαις. πικροτέραν βοήθειαν* I could understand, not *οἰκτροτέραν.*

Lycurgus.

1 *ἐπεὶ καὶ Σιμωνίδης κ.τ.λ.*

ἐπεὶ καί makes no sense, and should apparently be *εἰ γὰρ καί, for though.* *εἰ* and *ἐπεί* are often confused.

8 *δεινῆς οὔσης ἀνωμαλίας καὶ πολλῶν ἀκτημόνων καὶ ἀπόρων ἐπιφερομένων τῇ πόλει. ἐπιφερομένων* is really meaningless. *φέρω* and *τρέφω* sometimes get interchanged and *ἐπιτρεφομένων* would make very good sense. D. Hal, *Ant. Rom.* 10. 6. 4 illustrates it exactly: *ἡλίκον ἄρα τῇ πόλει κακὸν ἐπιτρέφων ἐλάνθανες.*

15 *ταῦρον ἐκτίνει μέγαν.*

The context points in the clearest way possible to *ἐκτίσει.*

19 In Lycurgus' well-known rejoinder to the man who wanted him to set up a democracy in the State, *σὺ γὰρ πρῶτος ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ σου ποίησον δημοκρατίαν,*

[1] For other *adversaria* on the *Lives* see my *Notes on Xenophon and Others*, p. 236=Class. Rev. 17, 333.

it does not seem to have been noticed that *πρῶτος* must be wrong. It would mean *do you be the first to set up democracy in your household.* Read *πρότερος*. The two words are often confused, e.g. almost, though not quite, certainly in *Comp. Lycurgus et Numa* 4 *περὶ τί πρῶτον (πρότερον) ἦν σπουδάσαι προσῆκον ἢ παίδων ἐκτροφήν*; see *Fabius Maximus* 19 below.

20 *καλὸν ἦν τοι . . . φιλοπολίταν καλεῖσθαι.*

The context proves that we want the comparative here too. Read *κάλλιον*. Cf. Plato *Protag.* 360 A, where the same correction has long been adopted.

27 *κατασχηματίζεσθαι ἰόντας πρὸς τὸ καλόν.*

This is one of several passages not yet—as far as I know—corrected, where hiatus has been introduced by a change in the order of Plutarch's words. Read *πρὸς τὸ καλὸν ἰόντας*. In *ἰόντας* I see nothing wrong. [In the *Comp. Lycurg. et Num.* 3 the order should be *αἰσχυνομένη τις ἀτυφία.*]

29 *ὁμωμοκόσι χρήσεσθαι*, not *χρῆσθαι*. Cf. *ὅρκους λαβών . . . ἐμμενεῖν καὶ χρήσεσθαι* twenty lines above.

30 *Ἀθηναίους <μέν>*.

Numa.

1 Madvig's *ἢ φύσει δυνατὸν αὐτάρκη γενέσθαι πρὸς ἀρετὴν ἢ βέλτιον κ.τ.λ.* seems certainly right, but it fails to account for the *καί* which follows *δυνατόν* in the MSS. Did not Plutarch write *δυνατὸν καὶ <αὐτὸν> αὐτάρκη γενέσθαι*, i.e. of himself, without teaching? *αὐτόν* was lost through similarity to the beginning of *αὐτάρκη*.

12 (end) *ταῦτα μὲν ἐν τοῖς περὶ Καμίλλου μᾶλλον ἀκριβοῦται.* Probably *ἠκρίβωται.*

Comp. Lycurgi et Numae.

4 *ἄγεσθαι καὶ συνεπιστρέφεσθαι τοῖς ἤθεσιν.*

τοῖς ἔθεσιν, I think.

Solon.

8 At the end *ἔχειν* should perhaps be *σχεῖν*.

18 In Solon's famous verse, though the tradition is in favour of the present tense *ἐπ (ἀπ) αρκεῖ*, I have sometimes thought that the imperfect may really have been used.

22 Through his own fault the father cannot speak freely to his children: *παρρησίαν αὐτῷ πρὸς τοὺς γενομένους οὐκ ἀπολέλοιπεν.*

Should it not be *γεννωμένους*? *οἱ γενόμενοι* is not thus used. In *Lycurgus* 14 *τῶν γεννωμένων* is now read for *τῶν γινομένων*. Cf. *v.l. Laws* 791 E.

24 Something is missing after *τὸ μὲν ἐνθύμημα κ.τ.λ.*

29 *ἀρχομένων δὲ τῶν περὶ Θέσπιν ἤδη τὴν τραγῳδίαν κινεῖν, καὶ διὰ τὴν καινότητα τοὺς πολλοὺς ἄγοντος τοῦ πράγματος, οὔπω δ' εἰς ἅμιλλαν ἐναγώνιον ἐξηγμένου κ.τ.λ.*

ἐξηγμένου would in any case be awkward after *ἄγοντος*, but even in sense it is hardly satisfactory. Read *ἐξηρμένου*. Tragedy had not yet been elevated to

the position of an *ἀγών*. So in *Theseus* 6 *ἐξῆγεν αὐτὸν ὁ ζῆλος καὶ ἀνήρεθιζε ταὐτὰ πράττειν διανοούμενον* I have little doubt that we should read *ἐξῆρεν*. Plutarch is rather fond of the word: see Wyttenbach's *Lexicon*.

Publicola.

3 *τῆς τε βασιλείας ἀφίστασθαι καὶ πολεμοῦντα παύσασθαι*. Read *παύσεσθαι*. He was ready to resign the throne and would cease fighting.

8 *τοῦ δ' Ἀρείου πεδίου τὸ ἥδιστον ἐκέκτητο Ταρκύνιος, καὶ τοῦτο τῷ θεῷ καθιέρωσαν*. Through the similarity of ΗΔ and ΠΛ the words *ἥδιστος* and *πλεῖστος* are notoriously liable to interchange. So Plutarch's *Moralia* 421 C *ἥδιστον δὲ Δελφῶν λόγον εἶχε* appears in Eusebius in its true form *πλεῖστον . . . λόγον εἶχε*. When we recall this, we shall hardly doubt that *τὸ πλεῖστον* is to be read here. Livy 2. 5. 2 says: *ager Tarquiniorum qui inter urbem ac Tiberim fuit consecratus Marti Martius deinde campus fuit* (*fit?*), and cf. D. Hal, *Ant. Rom.* 5. 13. Though not quite the same statement, *τὸ πλεῖστον* agrees better with this than *τὸ ἥδιστον*.

17 *μηνύειν* should be *μηνύσειν*.

18 Tarquin answered *οὐδένα ποιεῖσθαι δικαστήν*. We need either an *ἄν* (*οὐδέν' ἄν*) or *ποιήσεσθαι*.

21 *ἱλασάμενος τῷ Αἴδῃ* can hardly be anything but a mistake for *τὸν Αἴδην*. Cf. *Demetrius* 26 below.

Comp. Solonis et Publicolae.

3 *τῇ μὲν ἀρχῇ λαμπρότερος ὁ Σόλων . . ., τῷ τέλει δὲ ἄτερος εὐτυχὴς <μᾶλλον> καὶ ζηλωτός?*

Themistocles.

1 *καὶ τούτου γενομένου δοκεῖ πανούργως τὸν τῶν νόθων καὶ γνησίων διορισμὸν ἀνελεῖν*.

Certainly we should expect *ἐδόκει* rather than *δοκεῖ*: *he was thought* at the time. May it be guessed that Plutarch wrote *πανούργως ἐδόκει*, and that, the order having been, as elsewhere, accidentally changed, hiatus after *γενομένου* caused the loss of the augment? Cf. *C. Caesar* 20 below.

4 *ἔστω φιλοσοφώτερον ἐπισκοπεῖν* whether Themistocles impaired the purity and perfection of the Athenian system. Perhaps *φιλοσοφωτέρων*, a question for men *φιλοσοφώτεροι* than Plutarch affects to be.

Camillus.

12 The friends of Camillus, when his trial was impending, told him *πρὸς μὲν τὴν κρίσιν αὐτῷ μηδὲν οἴεσθαι βοηθήσειν, τὴν δὲ ζημίαν ὀφλόντι συνεκτίσειν*.

οἴεσθαι is really comic: *that they did not think they would help him.* Is it not a compression into one word of *οἷοί τ' ἔσεσθαι*, omitting one *οι* and one *εσ*? Livy 5. 32. 8 *se collaturos quanti damnatus esset, absolvere eum non posse.* There are several well-established examples of such compression in the *Lives*, e.g. only

a few chapters earlier (7) χρηματισάμενος for ἀχρήματος ἄσμενος, *Demetr.* 30 ἐπειγομένῳ for ἐπεὶ γενομένῳ. Cf. Plato *Soph.* 257 E ξυμβεβηκέναι for ξυμβέβηκεν εἶναι: Aristotle *Post. An.* 2. 2. 90$_{A}$ 27 μᾶλλον for ἅμα δῆλον, etc.

24 κελεύουσι μὲν <ἂν> ὑπακούειν, as the sense and μηδὲν πολυπραγμονήσειν show.

28 Read σὺν (for ἐν) νεκρῶν πλήθει. σύν is probably better in itself, and ἐν νεκρῶν πλήθει . . . ἐν ἐρειπίοις would be clumsy.

Pericles.

2 ἐξέσται (not ἔξεστι) κρίνειν ἐκ τῶν γραφομένων.

Fabius Maximus.

19 τῶν πρώτων ἐχόμενος λογισμῶν ἐκείνων.

Probably προτέρων. Cf. *Lycurgus* 19 above.

Ibid. κιρναμένην δέ (φησι) τὴν Φαβίου βεβαιότητα καὶ ἀσφάλειαν τῇ Μαρκέλλου συνηθείᾳ σωτήριον γενέσθαι τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις.

συνηθείᾳ has been thought a mistake for some other word (cf. *Alcib.* 18 beginning). Perhaps the explanation is rather that some descriptive epithet, like δραστηρίῳ, used a dozen lines before, has been lost.

21 αἱ μὲν οὖν πρῶται τῶν ἡμερῶν ἦσαν καὶ . . . ἀνεπαύετο.

ἦσαν gives but poor sense. Read ᾖεσαν, *were passing*. Soph. *O.C.* 618 ὁ μυρίος χρόνος . . . ἰών.

Alcibiades.

1 (end) If the optative is right in ὅπως . . . δόξειεν, we need ἄν.

6 (end) ὅσακις ἂν λάβοι.

ἀναλάβοι, or omit ἄν.

35 τοῦτο τῶν κοινῶν ἐγκλημάτων πρῶτον ὑπῆρξε.

καινῶν has been suggested. No doubt the real word was the third of the three apt to get intermixed, κενῶν.

C. Marcius.

4 καὶ τοῖς προτέροις ἀεὶ τοὺς ὑστέρους ἡγεμόνας εἶχε περὶ τῆς ἐκείνου τιμῆς ἐρίζοντας καὶ μαρτυρίας ὑπερβαλέσθαι.

For καί before μαρτυρίας read ὡς = ὥστε, καί and ὡς being often confused. Plutarch seems to use ὑπερβάλλω in the uncommon sense of *raising, making greater*. Thus *Tib. Gracch.* 8 ἀρξαμένων τῶν πλουσίων ὑπερβάλλειν τὰς ἀποφοράς: *Cim.* 8 ὁ ἀγών . . . τὴν φιλοτιμίαν ὑπερέβαλε. So here μαρτυρίας ὑπερβαλέσθαι is *go farther in testimony*.

7 παρεῖχον αὐτοὺς τοῖς ἄρχουσι χρῆσθαι προθύμως ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον.

The adverb προθύμως is a mistake, familiar in this sort of phrase, for προθύμοις. As the words stand, the zeal is ascribed to the magistrates.

21 οὔτ' εἰς καλὸν <βλέποντα> οὔτε συμφέρον οὐδέν ?

COMP. TIMOLEONTIS ET AEMILII PAULI.

2 *δύναμιν οὐ ζητεῖν ἀλλ' ἔχειν ὀφείλων.*

Read *ζητῶν.*

MARCELLUS.

24 *τῆς νόσου παρακμὴν <τὴν> τῆς δυνάμεως ἐξανάλωσιν ἡγουμένους ?*

At the end of the chapter something like *λέγουσι* (*ἔνιοι δὲ λέγουσι ?*) has been lost. So *Cato Maior* 8 (end) *οὐδένα δὲ κ.τ.λ.* wants an *ἔφη*, and *Aemilius Paulus* 16 *πλήθει . . . περιεῖναι* something like *λέγοντες* (with only a comma at *προκινδυνεύοντος*).

ARISTIDES.

8 Read *ἔχειν* (not *εἶχε*) *γὰρ αὐτοῦ μᾶλλον πίστιν.* See my *Aristophanes and Others*, p. 182.

24 *προσέταξαν αὐτῷ χώραν τε καὶ προσόδους ἐπισκεψάμενον ὁρίσαι τὸ κατ' ἀξίαν ἑκάστῳ καὶ δύναμιν.*

The assessment was not individual and personal. Read therefore *ἑκάστων.*

COMP. ARISTIDIS ET CATONIS.

4 I think now that *τῆς παρασκευῆς* should be *ταῖς παρασκευαῖς.*

TITUS.

8 *ὅτι παντὸς ὅλου τοῖς παρ' ἀλλήλων μέρεσι μᾶλλον ἢ δι' αὑτὸν ἰσχύει.*

Some such original may be conjectured as *παντὸς ὅλου παρ' ἀλλήλων τοῖς μέρεσι μᾶλλον ἢ δι' αὐτῶν ἡ ἰσχύς ἐστι.*

PYRRHUS.

22 *νομίζων ὡς ἀμφοτέρων ὑπαρχόντων ἀπολλύναι θάτερον <οὐ προσήκει>* or something similar.

MARIUS.

43 *τὴν ἐκβάλλουσαν (ψῆφον)* should be *ἐκβαλοῦσαν.*

LYSANDER.

8 (end) *οὐδὲ Λακωνικὸν <ὂν> τὸ χρῆσθαι κ.τ.λ. ?*

17 *ἦν* (love of money) *οὐκ ἀφῄρει τὸ μὴ κεκτῆσθαι τὸν ἰδιώτην ὡς τὸ κεκτῆσθαι τὴν πόλιν εἰσεποιεῖτο.*

ὡς and some part of *ὅσος* are apt to get confused, and here we should restore *ὅσον.* 'It was not so much removed by one thing as introduced by the other.'

23 *τοῖς πολλοῖς στρατιώταις ἡγεμονίας πραγμάτων καὶ διοικήσεις πόλεων διδούς.*

It is inconceivable that Agesilaus gave these important functions to *most soldiers.* Who then served in the ranks? Applying *τοῖς πολλοῖς*, as *οἱ πολλοί* is applied four lines above, to most of the applicants for posts, we may conjecture *στρατιωτικῶν ἡγεμονίας πραγματων. πράγματα* indeed needs some limitation; otherwise *διοικήσεις πόλεων* would hardly have been mentioned separately.

Sulla.

10 *οὓς μάλιστα τιμῶντες ᾤοντο λυπεῖν ἐκεῖνον.*

The meaning is *thought to annoy*, and this requires *ἄν* to be added (*μάλιστ' ἂν* ?) or *λυπήσειν*.

Comp. Lysandri et Sullae.

4 Read *ὁ μέν γε* for *ὁ μέντοι γε*.

Cimon.

8 *ἀπὸ φυλῆς μιᾶς ἕκαστον*, where we certainly want some form of *ἀπὸ φυλῆς ἑκάστης ἕνα*, is an unusually pronounced instance of adjacent words exchanging the terminations of case, person, or whatever it may be, that belong to the two respectively. See my *Notes on Xenophon and Others*, p. 303. The example before us is unusually noticeable, because of the forms *μιᾶς* and *ἕνα* being so very distinct. It argues almost a confusion of thought rather than a mere *lapsus calami;* but the error should, I think, be put down to a copyist, not to Plutarch himself.

Lucullus.

9 *ἐν τόπῳ κατὰ τῶν ὁδῶν ἄριστα πεφυκότι καὶ τῶν χωρίων.*

κατά is not used in this way. Read *καὶ τ. ὁδῶν . . . καὶ τ. χωρίων*, like Thucydides' *καλῶς παράπλου κεῖται*, etc.

14 *πάλαι μὲν αἰτίας δεόμενον ἐφ' ἡμᾶς, εὐπρεπεστέραν δὲ οὐκ ἂν λαβόντα τῆς ὑπὲρ ἀνδρὸς οἰκείου καὶ βασιλέως, <ὡς> ἀναγκασθέντα ὑπουργεῖν αὐτῷ.*

20 *ἦν δὲ τοῦτο κοινὸν δάνειον.*

Read *τό* for the meaningless *τοῦτο*.

22 (end) *καὶ κεῖσθαι περὶ Σάφαν, ἐκεῖ τι χωρίον <ὂν> οὕτω καλούμενον* ?

27 *καταφανὴς ἦν <ὁ> πρῶτος ἀετός* ?

37 *ἔπεισεν αὐτῷ μὴ δοῦναι θρίαμβον.*

The sense requires *ἔπειθεν, he urged them*, for they did grant it.

Nicias.

11 *ὕστερον δὲ ἠγανάκτουν ὡς καθυβρισμένον τὸ πρᾶγμα τοῦτο πρὸς ἄνθρωπον ἀνάξιον γεγονέναι νομίζοντες* (the ostracism of Hyperbolus).

The construction is very halting until we restore *καθυβρισμένοι*. The people, though a large part of them must (if the story is true) have joined in the understanding, thought themselves outraged by it.

18 *οὐδένα τοῦ Γυλίππου λόγον ἔσχε προσπλέοντος οὐδὲ φυλακὴν ἐποιήσατο καθαράν.*

καθαράν is unintelligible and has been corrected in various ways. Possibly *καὶ φρουράν*.

28 Timaeus affirms that Demosthenes and Nicias were not put to death by the Syracusans, *ἀλλ' Ἑρμοκράτους πέμψαντος . . . καὶ δι' ἑνὸς τῶν φυλάκων παρέντων αὐτοὺς δι' αὑτῶν ἀποθανεῖν.*

παρέντων has been corrected to παρέντος, but even this gives no clear meaning. I should guess something like παραινέσαντος or παραινοῦντος.

Crassus.

2 ὥστε τῆς Ῥώμης τὸ πλεῖστον μέρος ὑπ' αὐτῷ γενέσθαι.

Rather ἐπ' αὐτῷ, in his hands, at his disposal. So in 14 read πᾶσαν ἐφ' (not ὑφ') ἑαυτοῖς ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν.

3 παιδείας δὲ τῆς περὶ λόγον μάλιστα μὲν τὸ ῥητορικὸν καὶ χρειώδες εἰς πολλοὺς ἤσκησε.

Does not μάλιστα κ.τ.λ., point to λόγων? If it were λόγον, the art of speaking, τὸ ῥητορικόν would hardly be put as only a part of it. Of course λόγος may sometimes be appropriate, e.g. *Aratus* 3 ἐνδεέστερον ἴσως . . . περὶ τὸν λόγον ἐσπούδασε.

9 μὴ προσδοκῶν ὑπερβαλέσθαι τὴν Ῥωμαίων δύναμιν.

Read ὑπερβαλεῖσθαι.

Comp. Niciae et Crassi.

3 χώραν οὐ δοτέον τοῖς πονηροῖς οὐδ' ἀρχὴν μὴ ἄρχουσιν οὐδὲ πίστιν ἀπιστουμένοις.

I cannot make any sense of ἄρχουσιν. Should it be ἄρξουσιν, men who will not exercise authority?

4 προσεργάσασθαι τὴν Ἀσίαν οἷς Πομπήϊος ἐπῆλθε καὶ Λούκουλλος ἀντέσχεν.

οἷς ἐπῆλθε does not mean 'the regions that Pompey invaded.' It is the idiomatic use of the neuter pronoun and verb together as equivalent to a substantive: '*the expeditions of Pompey and the resistance of Lucullus.*' There is therefore no reason for doubting the soundness of the words.

Sertorius.

2 γένος ἦν οὐκ ἀσημότατον.

ἄσημον?

10 καίτοι δοκεῖ . . . ὠμότητος καὶ βαρυθυμίας τὸ περὶ τοὺς ὁμήρους πραχθὲν ἔργον ἐπιδεῖξαι τὴν φύσιν οὐχ οὖσαν ἥμερον.

It has been proposed to insert μεστόν or γέμον to govern the genitives.

I conjecture ἥμερον to be a miswriting of ἔρημον, on which the genitives depend. ἔρημος has sometimes merely the meaning of *without, devoid of*, e.g. Plato *Laws* 862 E. ποιοῦντες ἀνδρῶν κακῶν ἔρημον τὴν πόλιν.

22 (end) δι' αἰτίας seems, if the words are themselves right, to need some addition, e.g. τινάς or an epithet.

Eumenes.

13 συνεπορεύοντο βουλευ<σ>όμενοι.

14 ἤλπιζεν <ἂν> εἶναι, if it means *hoped to be.* So *Solon* 15 ἤλπιζε . . . χρήσασθαι should be χρήσεσθαι.

AGESILAUS.

11 *κάλλιστον υἱὸν μὲν ἔχων . . . καλὴν δὲ καὶ θυγατέρα.*

Presumably *κάλλιστον μὲν υἱὸν ἔχων.*

At the end of the chapter read *ἄν* for *αὖ* (instead of adding it, as I formerly suggested).

23 *πρὸς δὲ τοὺς λέγοντας ὅτι ταῦτα <οὐ> δοκεῖ τῷ μεγάλῳ βασιλεῖ* (*ταῦτα* referring to the preceding praise of justice)?

30 *ξυρῶνται <μὲν> μέρος τῆς ὑπήνης, μέρος δὲ τρέφουσι.*

μέν lost before *μερ.*

36 Another *ἄν* seems lost in *κεἰ γὰρ κ.τ.λ. οὐ πάμπαν ἄμεμπτον <ἂν> εἶναι τὴν φιλοτιμίαν.* 'Even in that case it *would have been* liable to censure in so old a man.'

POMPEIUS.

1 In the first line (*ἔοικε τοῦτο παθεῖν . . . ὅπερ κ.τ.λ.*) write *ταὐτό.*

8 *οὐδένος ἂν προσδοκήσαντος . . . κοινώσεσθαι,* not *-σασθαι.* Cf. on *Eumenes* 14 above.

32 Is *ἐκβαλεῖν φρέαρ* the right expression? It is odd in itself and, seeing that Plutarch says *ἐμβαλεῖν ταφρόν* three or four times, we may think *ἐμβαλεῖν* more likely here.

58 *οὐκ ἔφη λόγων ἀκροάσεσθαι καθήμενος, ἀλλ' ὁρῶν ὑπερφαινόμενα τῶν Αλπεων ἤδη δέκα τάγματα βαδίζειν καὶ αὐτὸς ἐκπέμψειν τὸν ἀντιταξόμενον αὐτοῖς ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος.*

Like others, I failed formerly to see that the change needed here is that of *βαδίζειν* to *βαδίζων. βαδίζων* is contrasted with *καθήμενος.*

80 *ἦν δὲ <ἡ> γλυφὴ λέων ξιφήρης.*

COMP. AGESILAI ET POMPEII.

1 *τὴν βασιλείαν ἔδοξε λαβεῖν οὔτε τὰ πρὸς θεοὺς ἄμεμπτος οὔτε τὰ πρὸς ἀνθρώπους.*

Read *ἀμέμπτως.*

ALEXANDER.

42 *μέχρι τοιούτων ἐπιστολῶν τοῖς φίλοις ἐσχόλαζεν, οἷα γράφει παῖδα . . . κελεύων ἀναζητῆσαι.*

Is *οἷα* grammatical? *οἵας*?

C. CAESAR.

4 *οὐδεμίαν ἀρχὴν πράγματος ἡγητέον μικρὰν ἢν οὐ ταχὺ ποιεῖ μεγάλην τὸ ἐνδελεχὲς κ.τ.λ.*

No doubt *οὕτω* is to be added to *μικράν,* as has been suggested. But ought not *ποιεῖ* to be *ποιήσει*? 'No beginning of an affair is to be accounted so small that it *will not* (or *cannot*) be soon made great.' '*Is not*' fails to give good sense. So in *Alexander* 6 (end) *Μακεδονία γάρ σε οὐ χωρήσει* would perhaps be more suitable than *οὐ χωρεῖ,* and in *Crassus* 11 *εἰπὼν ὅτι νικῶν μὲν ἔχοι*

πολλοὺς ἵππους . . ., ἡττώμενος δὲ οὐ δεῖται, if we are to substitute ἕξοι for ἔχοι, as seems necessary, we should probably change δεῖται also to δεήσεται. At the end of *Cato Minor* μιμήσεσθαι has been restored by Cobet and Madvig for μιμεῖσθαι.

11 ἐγὼ μὲν ἐβουλόμην παρὰ τούτοις εἶναι μᾶλλον πρῶτος ἢ παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις δεύτερος. Not 'I could have wished,' for that would imply that he already was, or knew himself fated to be, the second man at Rome. ἐγὼ μὲν <ἂν> βουλοίμην seems wanted.

20 οὐδεὶς ἂν δοκεῖ περιγενέσθαι.

Not '*it is thought*' but 'it was thought' (ἐδόκει) that no one would have survived. Cf. *Themistocles* 1 above.

Phocion.

10 ὥσπερ τῇ πλεονεξίᾳ μόνον . . . <ἀλλα or καὶ> οὐχὶ μᾶλλον κ.τ.λ.

16 τὴν ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου βουλὴν ἔχοντες ἐν τῷ δήμῳ δεόμενοι καὶ δακρύοντες μόλις ἔπεισαν ἐπιτρέψαι τῷ Φωκίωνι τὴν πόλιν.

I would now read λέγοντες for ἔχοντες. The confusion occurs elsewhere.

26 καὶ τοῦτο πρῶτον ἦτει τὸ μένοντα κατὰ χώραν ποιήσασθαι τὰς διαλύσεις.

The emphasis of τοῦτο τό seems pointless. Read τοῦτον πρῶτον ἐ᾽τεῖτο μένοντα.

28 Adopting ἐν τοῖς μεγίστοις ἀτυχήμασι, not ἐν τοῖς ἀρίστοις εὐτυχήμασι (oddly expressed and not appropriate), and the conjecture ἐπισκοτεῖν for ἐπισκοπεῖν, I would read τοῖς θεοῖς. Formerly (they said) in their greatest disasters (e.g. the Persian occupation of Attica) the mystic sights and sounds had encouraged them and dismayed their foes (Herod. 8. 65?): now at the mysteries the gods there celebrated were thrown into the shade by the Macedonian garrison, and joy was turned to humiliation and mourning.

32 οὐδὲν ἤλπιζε περαίνειν.

Read περανεῖν, a correction that has certainly been made in *Cato Minor* 10 (οὐδὲν ᾤετο . . . περαίνειν) and may already have been made here. Cf. on *Eumenes* above.

Cato Minor.

9 μικρὸν ἔργον ἡγεῖτο καὶ οὐ βασιλικόν.

This makes no sense. The conjecture οὐκ ἀνύσιμον makes fair sense, but the corruption is unaccounted for. Did Plutarch write καίτοι βασιλικόν, *though regal?*

17 προσκαλούμενος ἕκαστον <τὸν> ἔχοντα δημόσιον ἀργύριον.

The words can hardly stand as they are.

24 εἶναί τινας τοὺς κινουμένους καὶ κελεύοντας should certainly be read and made dependent on λέγεται. We must then add a καί or δέ to τὸν Καίσαρα, unless εἶναι <γάρ> . . . τὰ γεγραμμένα is preferred. At the beginning of the next chapter I would write καθαπερ <γάρ> rather than <καὶ> καθάπερ.

27 *ἄλλον δὲ οὐδένα παρῆκαν, ἢ μόλις ἐπισπάσας τῆς χειρὸς ὁ Κάτων τὸν Μουνάτιον ἀνήγαγε.*

For *ἤ* should we write *εἰ μή*? It seems hardly possible that the words can mean *οὐδένα ἄλλον ἢ τὸν Μουνάτιον, ὃν μόλις . . . ἀνήγαγε.*

55 *οὕτως ἔστη τοῖς λογισμοῖς ὡς κ.τ.λ.*

Perhaps *ἔστη* should be *ἔσχε* or *εἶχε*. *παρέσχε* in *Nic.* 22 has been corrected with something like certainty to *παρέστη*.

69 *ἄνδρα τοσοῦτον ἡλικίᾳ* (for *ἡλικίας*) *προήκοντα*, as in *Alcib.* 18, seems likely, or *<εἰς> τοσοῦτον ἡλικίας*.

Agis.

7 For *ταῦτα μὲν ὁ Ἀγησίλαος*, where the emphasis seems wrong, read *ὁ μὲν Ἀ. ταῦτα*, or possibly *ταῦτα ὁ μὲν Ἀ.*

Cleomenes.

4 *μάτην Λακεδαιμόνιοι πυνθάνονται κ.τ.λ.*

μάτην is absurd with *πυνθάνονται*, as the editors have of course seen. Can it have strayed from a few lines above, *οὐκ εἴασε διακινδυνεῦσαι . . . ἀλλ' ἀπῆλθε <μάτην>*?

31 *αἰσχρὸν γὰρ <καὶ> ζῆν μόνοις ἑαυτοῖς καὶ ἀποθνῄσκειν*, dying as well as living.

34 *πυνθανόμενος . . . τὰ πράγματα ποθεῖν αὐτὸν καὶ παρακαλεῖν ἐκεῖνον.*

The difficulty is not in *ἐκεῖνον* and *αὐτὸν* referring to the same person, which is quite legitimate, but in the fact that only one pronoun is wanted. *τὰ πράγματα ποθεῖν καὶ παρακαλεῖν* suggests strongly by its personification that *αὐτόν* should be *αὐτά*.

35 *εἰ μή . . . <μὴ> μετρίως ἐζημιοῦτο.*

The cause of the loss is clear.

Demosthenes.

2 *οἱστισι πλείων τε σχολὴ καὶ τὰ τῆς ὥρας ἔτι πρὸς τὰς τοιαύτας ἐπιχωρεῖ φιλοτιμίας.*

ἐπιχωρεῖ lacks an accusative. We might think of reading *προσέτι* for *ἔτι πρός*, but probably a word, e.g. *σπουδήν* or *ἰσχύν*, has been lost before *ἔτι*.

Cicero.

15 The decree authorising the consuls to act for themselves : *δεξαμένους δ'ἐκείνους ὡς ἐπίστανται διοικεῖν καὶ σῴζειν τὴν πόλιν.*

If *ὡς ἐπίστανται* is a complete expression = *to the best of their judgment*, it suggests the possibility of understanding Aesch. *P.V.* 374 *σεαυτὸν σῷζ' ὅπως ἐπίστασαι* and *Eum.* 581 *ὅπως τ' ἐπίστᾳ τήνδε κύρωσον δίκην* in a corresponding manner.

23 *τῶν εἰς τὸ μέλλον ἀρχόντων* (*ἀρξόντων*?). In *Dion* 29 *προσείλοντο . . . αὐτοῖς συνάρχοντας εἴκοσιν* and *Public.* 1 *ᾑρέθη . . . συνάρχων* I think the

present participle may stand, though earlier Greek would probably have used the future. Cf. *Comp. Nic. et Crass.* 3 above.

33 *ἐκάκιζεν αὐτὸς αὑτὸν προέμενος τὸν Κικέρωνα.*

Do we not require *προέμενον*?

38 *χρησιμώτερον <ἂν> ὄντα . . . εἰ μένων . . . ἡρμόζετο.*

44 *ἐδόκει δὲ καὶ μείζων τις αἰτία γεγονέναι.*

The context points to *δοκεῖ*. In *Tib. Gracch.* 8 the same error has been corrected.

47 *καὶ τἆλλα ταραχώδη καὶ παλίντροπα βουλεύματα τῆς γνώμης μεταλαμβάνων.* *τἆλλα* is probably a corruption of *πολλά*, which gives much better sense. In *Alex.* 52 on the other hand *εἰς πολλὰ χαυνότερον* has been altered very plausibly to *εἰς τἆλλα*.

The last sentence of this chapter with the two imperfectly contracted clauses *θηρία δέ* (instead of *καὶ θηρία μὲν*) *αὐτῷ βοηθεῖ* and *αὐτοὶ δ' οὐκ ἀμύνουσι* is very remarkable and probably in some way wrong. We might think of *θηρία γάρ*, as *δέ* and *γάρ* get interchanged, but then the clauses would naturally be in the infinitive.

Demetrius.

2 *συνεκέκρατο τῷ νεαρῷ καὶ ἰταμῷ δυσμίμητος ἡρωική τις ἐπιφάνεια καὶ βασιλικὴ σεμνότης.*

Read *δυσμιμήτως*. That is better in itself and supported by the position of *τις*, which would otherwise naturally follow the first adjective. Cf. *Antonius* 23 below, *Comp. Ages. et Pomp.* 1 above.

16 *ὅταν μάλιστα σύστασιν ὁ ἀγὼν ἔχῃ.*

No doubt *σύντασιν*. An *ἀγών* is always a *σύστασις*.

26 *ἐτέλουν τῷ Δημητρίῳ τὰ πρὸς Ἄγραν.*

τὸν Δημήτριον? In *τὰ μικρὰ τοῦ Ἀνθεστηρίωνος ἐτελοῦντο* half a dozen lines earlier *ἐτελοῦντο* is personal, as *ἐπώπτευον* shows. Cf. *Publicola* 21 above.

Antonius.

23 *τοῖς μὲν οὖν Ἕλλησιν οὐκ ἄτοπος οὐδὲ φορτικὸς συνηνέχθη.*

Read *ἀτόπως* and *φορτικῶς*, comparing *Demetrius* 2 above.

46 (end) *ἴστω τὰς Κράσσου τύχας αὐτὸν ἐκδεχομένας* (*ἐκδεξομένας*?).

54 *ὡς οὐδὲ ἀκοῦσαι καλόν, εἰ . . . κατέστησε.*

The past tense *κατέστησε* may be defended, but on the whole I should prefer *καταστήσει*.

66 We seem to need something like *ἢ προσπέσοιεν σκάφεσιν <ἐκ> τετραγώνων ξύλων μεγάλων σιδήρῳ δεδεμένων πρὸς ἄλληλα συνηρμοσμένοις.*

79 *ᾧ προσετέτακτο <τοῦ> ζῶσαν αὐτὴν φυλάττειν ἰσχυρῶς ἐπιμελόμενον τἆλλα . . . ἐνδιδόναι.*

τοῦ lost after *το*.

Dion.

31 *ἐπισκήψεις τε δειναὶ μετ' ὀλοφυρμῶν καὶ τὸ μάλιστα κινῆσαν αὐτὸν ἀξιοῦντος μὴ καθαιρεῖν κ.τ.λ.*

Reading *κινῆσον* or *μάλιστ' <ἂν> κινῆσαν*, I now think that a participle in the genitive parallel to *ἀξιοῦντος* has been lost before *καί*, e.g., *δεομένου*.

Brutus.

36 Read *καὶ* (for *ἢ*) *τί βουλόμενος*.

37 Either *<ὁ> ἡμέτερος οὗτος λόγος* or possibly *ἡμέτερος οὗτος . . . <ὁ> λόγος*.

Artaxerxes.

7 *οὐ δεῖ φυγομαχεῖν οὐδὲ <οὐ μόνον> Μηδίας ἐκστάντα καὶ Βαβυλῶνος ἀλλὰ καὶ Σούσων ἐνδύεσθαι τῇ Περσίδι*.

Galba.

29 In the last words read *οἰκτίροντας* for *οἰκτίραντας*.

Herbert Richards.

V 6 18 '"Naualis" est, qua donari solet, maritimo proelio qui primus in hostium nauem [ui] armatus transiluit'.

Delendum uidetur [ui]; cf. Fest. p. 162 2, quem locum citat Hosius.

IX 5 6 'Critolaus Peripateticus et malum esse uoluptatem ait et multa alia mala parere ex sese, iniurias, desidias, obliuiones, ignauias'.

Immo 'incurias'.

X 27 3 '— populum Romanum misisse ad eos hastam et caduceum, signa duo belli aut pacis, ex quis utrum uellent eligerent eqs.'

Antiqui a Gellio asseruati sermonis agnoscere mihi uideor uestigia: 'signa duelli aut pacis'.

XII 5 7 'Productiones tamen et relationes (relaxiones *B*) suis quaeque momentis distinctae diuisaeque sunt, quae *προηγμένα* et *ἀποπροηγμένα* ipsi uocant'.

Apte quidem Stephanus scholae uerbum restituens 'reiectiones' supposuit, nisi quod id egisse uidetur Gellius ut graeca latine quam proxime posset uerteret, unde praetulerim 'red*uc*tiones'; cf. Cic. *de Fin.* V 30 90 'producta et reducta'.

XIII 8 2 '— et proinde sapere atque consulere ex his, quae pericula ipsa rerum docuerint, non quae libri tantum aut magistri per quasdam inanitates uerborum et imaginum tamquam in mimo aut in somnio delectauerint'.

'delectauerint' probata Stephani interpretatione (= 'delectando dixerint') retinuit Gronovius, oblitus delectationem ut mimi ita non somnii esse propriam. Neque tamen magis probandum est quod proposuit Hertz 'deblaterauerint', aut quod ex Ottii coniectura scripsit Hosius 'delerauerint', cum non pro contemnendis abiciantur libri et magistri, sed eorum opera ad comparandam sapientiam parum profici tantummodo arguatur ('non libris *solis*—opus esse, sed oportere eum uersari *quoque*—in rebus comminus noscendis'); sed desideratur eiusmodi uerbum quod simul et mimi somniique notionibus congruat et rerum ipsarum soliditati 'umbras uerborum inanium' (XIII 24 2) bene opponat: tale autem non potius est 'dictitauerint' (Carrio) uel 'dictauerint' (Lipsius) uel 'delibauerint' (Hosius) quam 'delineauerint'; cf. XVII 20 8 'lineas umbrasque facere', Cic. *N. D.* I 27 75 'adumbratorum deorum

lineamenta', Plin. *N. H.* XXXV 10 36 14 '(Apelles) adrepto carbone—imaginem in pariete delineauit'.

XV 21 'Praestantissimos uirtute, prudentia, uiribus Iouis filios poetae appellauerunt, ut (*del.* ut ?) Aeacum et Minoa et Sarpedona; ferocissimos et inmanes et alienos ab omni humanitate tamquam e mari genitos Neptuni filios dixerunt, Cyclopa et Cercyona et Scirona et Laestrygonas'.

Nisi ab ipsis exemplis suis refelli mauis Gellium, scribe 'm*o*ribus.' Cf. lemma.

XVI 11 3 '— cum — quaesissem, in quarto denique Herodoti libro — inuenimus'.

Compendio restituto QVAESISSEM' (i.e.-m*us*) legendum esse uidetur.

XVII 9 17 'pugillaria noua nondum etiam cera inlita [ac]cepisse'.

Dittographiam remoui; cf. XIX 12 9 'falcem ac securim capit.'

XVIII 2 10 'Quaesitum ibi est, quae esset huius quoque sophismatis resolutio:'

Cum eiusdem haec atque praecedentia sint quaestionis, tertiae scilicet— quarta incipit 11, quinta 12 —, praue 'Quaesitum <*tum*>' suppleuit Hertz; 'inibi' autem, quod maluit Heiberg, quadraret si 'etiam' uel simile quid esset additum; mihi IBI Ē reliquiae esse uidentur antiquae scripturae IBIDĒ.

XIX 1 18 '— *οὐ συγκατατίθεται οὐδὲ προσεπιδοξάζει*' Verba '*οὐδὲ προσεπιδοξάζει*' cur transponam post '*οὐ συγκατατίθεται*' quod legitur 20, rationem a me reposcere neminem confido.

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THE ΣΧΗΜΑ ΑΛΚΜΑΝΙΚΟΝ.

An explanation on the principles of modern grammar of sentences of the type *ἦχι ῥοὰς Σιμόεις συμβάλλετον ἠδὲ Σκάμανδρος*, E 774, has not yet, so far as I am aware, been offered. And yet to call it the 'figure of Alcman' cannot satisfy any one. The psychological explanation is easy and obvious. We might start, for example, with such a sentence as *ἀτὰρ σὲ Ζεὺς ἐρρύσατο καὶ θεοὶ ἄλλοι* Υ 124, and suppose that the 'Alcmanic figure' was due to the fact that the speaker anticipated the second subject. A similar explanation of the 'Pindaric figure' is held in honour, and what will do for Pindar is presumably good enough for the poet from lofty Sardis. But the psychological treatment of syntactic phenomena, just because it now seems to us so natural and, often, so satisfactory, has its dangers. It should be held as an axiom that the psychological explanation of a syntactic construction must be deferred till the historical and comparative methods have first been applied; otherwise the investigator may merely blind himself to the real nature of the phenomenon. In the case of the 'Alcmanic figure' it may be possible, I think, to show that we have no new invention, but the disguised descendant of what was perhaps an Idg. construction.

The examples of the construction in Kühner-Gert, *Gr. Gramm.*, § 370, 2 Anm. 1, are: *ἦχι ῥοὰς Σιμόεις συμβάλλετον ἠδὲ Σκάμανδρος*, E 774; *ἔνθα μὲν εἰς Ἀχέροντα Πυριφλεγέθων τε ῥέουσιν Κώκυτός τε*, K 513; *Κάστωρ τε πώλων ὠκέων δματῆρες, ἱππόται σοφοὶ καὶ Πολυδεύκης*, Alcman, *fr.* 12; *πέμπε δ' Ἑρμᾶς . . . διδύμους υἱοὺς τὸν μὲν Ἐχίονα κεχλάδοντας ἥβᾳ τὸν δ' Ἔρυτον*, Pindar, *P.* 4, 179. The ex. Υ 138 is somewhat different, as will be shown later. Two things will be observed in reading the above examples. In the first place, the nouns refer to living or personified things; and in the second place, the persons or things mentioned are such as were commonly associated, *Σιμόεις: Σκάμανδρος, Κάστωρ: Πολυδεύκης, Ἐχίονα: Ἔρυτον.* This is an important feature of the construction, and points very clearly to what I consider to be its real explanation.

In Aryan there is a peculiar use of the dual, discussed by Delbrück, *Vergl. Syntax*, I. 137 ff. When a pair of persons or things usually associated is referred to, the name of one in the dual is used to denote them both: *mitrā* = Mitra and Varuna; *áhanī* (lit. 'two days') = day and night. Very scanty traces of a similar usage in other idg. languages have been pointed out.

Thus, according to Wackernagel, Αἴαντε = Aias and Teukros in Greek.[1] In Latin *Castores* = Castor and Pollux, *Cereres* = Ceres and Proserpine, doubtless take the place of an original dual, as do *feðgar* = father and son, in O. Norse, and *tevaĩ* (lit. 'fathers') = father and mother, in Lithuanian. From this usage, according to the view of Delbrück, developed the other by which this *elliptical dual* is followed by the dual of the other member of the pair, cf. Edgerton, *KZ*, xliii., 110 ff., *Origin and development of the elliptic dual and of dvandva compounds*. Thus *mitrā́* = Mitra and Varuna was followed by *mitrāvaruṇāu*, as in the example quoted by Delbrück, *ib.* from *RV.* 6, 51, 1. Logically, if not historically, between those two constructions stands a third, where the original elliptic dual is supplemented not by the dual, but by the singular of the name of the other member of the pair. An example is given by Delbrück *RV.* 8, 25, 2, *mitrā́ tánā ná rathyā́ váruṇo yáç ca sukrátuḥ sanā́t. . . .*

A variant of this construction is the substitution for the dual of the noun of the dual of the pronoun actually expressed or implied in the verb. Examples of this from different languages are given by Edgerton, *ib.*[2] An instance from Skt. is *RV.* 7, 88, 3 *ā́ yád ruhā́va Váruṇaçca nā́vam*, 'when we two went on board the ship (I) and Varuna,' an exact parallel to the O. Irish *conrancatar ocus Dubthach*, *B. Arm.* 18*a*1.

We have now the following stages in the history of the construction: (1) the elliptic dual with verb in concord; (2) the double dual; (3) the elliptic dual with explanatory singular; and (4) the dual pronoun, either expressed or implied in the dual form of the verb, followed by an explanatory singular. For (3) the only clear case in Skt. has the verb in the singular, for the explanatory singular noun *Varunas* intervenes between it and the dual; but from the analogy of (4) we can scarcely doubt that such a sentence of *mitrā gatām varunaç ca* would be quite in the strict line of development. How illogical such a type of sentence was would at once be apparent. One obvious means of making it logical was to substitute the singular for the leading dual: thus for *mitrā gatām varuṇaç ca* we should have *mitro gatām varuṇaçca*. Such, or nearly such, a type of sentence we have in *RV.* 1, 135, 4 *vā́yav ā́ candréṇa rā́dhasā́ gatam índraça rā́dhasā́ gatam* (quoted by Edgerton, *ib.* 112).

The true explanation of the 'Alcmanic figure' is now clear. In the example from Alkman, Κάστωρ τε πώλων ὠκέων δματῆρες . . . καὶ Πολυδεύκης we have the logical development of Κάστορε (or κάστορες δύω) . . . καὶ Πολυδεύκης. Although in the earliest Greek the original form of the construction as seen in Aryan has disappeared, or almost disappeared, still it has left a very significant trace in the fact that the nouns in the 'Alcmanic figure' are invariably such as refer to persons and things associated by usage, and therefore felt to form a natural group. Simoeis and Skamander, the two well-known rivers of the Troad; Pyriphlegethon and Kokytos, the familiar names of the rivers of Hell;

[1] This is by no means certain, and, at the suggestion of the Editor, I refrain from utilizing the passages in the *Iliad* where the word occurs.

[2] To his examples from O. Irish add from M. Irish *Tain bó Fraich* (*Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy Irish MSS. Series*, I. 1, 1870), 140, 18; 152, 27. For other exx. v. W. Stokes, *Kuhns Beiträge*, II. 394 f.

Kastor and Polydeukes, the famous twin brethren. This is a feature of the construction which must be explained, and which the psychological method does not account for.

A secondary development from the 'Alcmanic figure' is the type represented by T138, *εἰ δέ κ' Ἄρης ἄρχωσι μάχης ἢ Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων | ἢ Ἀχιλῆ' ἴσχωσι καὶ οὐκ εἰῶσι μάχεσθαι.* This type of sentence differs from the 'figure of Alcman' in being disjunctive, and could arise only when it had come to be thought that the verb standing between two singular nouns could under all circumstances be made dual or plural.

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LE PREMIER LIVRE DES COMMENTAIRES ET LES CRITIQUES DE M. T. RICE HOLMES.

M. T. Rice Holmes a publié, dans le no. 3° du III^me^ V. de cette Revue, d'ingénieuses observations sur la réconstruction du premier livre des Commentaires, que j'ai faite dans le II^nd^ volume de ma *Greatness and Decline of Rome*. Mais il me semble qu'il n'a pas bien saisi le point capital de ma réconstruction. Le point est représenté par cette question : pourquoi César a conclu en 59 A.Ch. l'alliance avec Arioviste, et l'an suivant, en 58, a brisé cette alliance, en lui déclarant la guerre à l'improviste ? Les Commentaires ne donnent pas une réponse satisfaisante à cette question ; et l'historien doit la chercher, s'il veut comprendre la politique de César en Gaule.

Commençons par la première question : pourquoi César fit en 59 l'alliance avec Arioviste ? 'Mere scholars who have not, like Signor Ferrero,' écrit M. Holmes (p. 213), 'had the advantage of intimate acquaintance with practical politics have found no difficulty in accounting for Caesar's having . . . associated himself with the Senate in bestowing upon Ariovistus the titles of King and Friend. He foresaw that when he went to Gaul he would have to deal both with the Helvetii and with Ariovistus ; and to dispose of two formidable hosts separately would be quite as much as he could manage.' L'explication paraît d'abord satisfaisante ; mais la lecture attentive des Commentaires nous prouve que ni les Helvètes ni Arioviste ne désiraient que de vivre en paix avec César (cf. *B. G.* 1, 13 ; 1, 44), et bien loin d'avoir songé à une alliance contre César, regardaient une guerre contre lui comme une chose presqu'impossible. C'est César qui provoque les Helvètes et Arioviste ; qui s'acharne à leur créer des embarras et des difficultés ; et qui les oblige à tirer l'épée. Dans ces conditions, on ne comprend pas quel besoin il avait d'empêcher l'union de deux puissances, qui n'avaient jamais pensé à le combattre, ni unies ni séparées. M. Holmes objectera que c'était là une précaution, peut-être superflue, mais toujours utile, car elle ne coutait rien à César. 'The bestowal of the titles cost nothing, and would probably keep Ariovistus quiet for the time' (p. 210). . . . 'Such titles had often been bestowed by the Senate upon the princes of remote Gallic tribes.' Malheureusement, si, à l'ordinaire, ces titres ne coutaient rien au sénat, dans cette occasion le titre octroyé à Arioviste pouvait coûter fort cher à Rome : rien

moins que tout son prestige en Gaule et l'appui du parti romanophile, qui avait toujours existé au delà des Alpes. En s'alliant avec Arioviste, Rome coupait court aux espérances que tout un parti plaçait en elle pour se débarasser d'Arioviste et détruisait la possibilité de toute politique, au milieu des républiques celtiques. Le premier livre des Commentaires le prouve. Rien n'est plus frappant, dans ce livre, que la faiblesse du parti romanophile et de son chef, Divitiacus. Ce parti est obligé à laisser le commandement de la cavalerie à Dumnorix ; il n'ose ni contrecarrer les intrigues de celui-ci contre César, ni même les révéler à César ; quand César découvre le trahison de Dumnorix, c'est Divitiacus, le chef du parti contraire, qui supplie César de ne pas châtier le traître, et avec des arguments si persuasifs, que César se rend à son conseil. M. Holmes m'objecte que l'expédition des Helvètes '*was popular only with the nationalists*' (p. 211) : oui, mais dans le cas, César lui-même nous dit que le parti nationaliste représentait la presque totalité de la Gaule. Divitiacus (*B. G.* 1, 20) supplie César de ne pas toucher à Dumnorix : *qua ex re futurum, ut totius Galliae animi a se averterentur.* Toute la Gaule était donc pour Dumnorix, et pour les Helvètes contre César. Pourtant de tous les temps il y avait eu en Gaule un fort parti romanophile. Pour quelle raison, au moment où César entre en Gaule, ce parti semble ne plus exister, ou, au moins, être réduit à un minimum d'influence ? L'alliance avec Arioviste est la seule explication possible ; mais c'est une explication suffisante. En s'alliant avec l'ennemi national de la Gaule, Rome s'aliénait toutes les sympathies des Gaulois. La question de savoir pourquoi César a fait cette alliance est donc plus complexe et difficile que M. Holmes ne le suppose ; car il s'agit d'une alliance dont on voit facilement les inconvénients, et dont on a de la peine à découvrir les avantages.

L'autre question—pourquoi un an après avoir fait cette alliance César l'a brisée—n'est pas moins difficile. 'His motives . . .' écrit M. Holmes (p. 212), 'were . . . simply prudential. He did not intend to allow Roman prestige to suffer by leaving the allies in the lurch, or to imperil Roman interests by leaving Ariovistus to do what he pleased.' Cette explication est trop simple, pour un acte aussi grave que la guerre contre Arioviste. M. Holmes a oublié que César n'était pas autorisé par les lois de son pays à défendre le prestige romain en Gaule d'après ses idées personelles ; que le droit de déclarer la guerre appartenait au sénat et non pas aux gouverneurs de province ; que la *lex Vatinia* n'avait pas donné à César, avec la Gaule Cisalpine, le droit de faire la guerre et la paix ; qu'Arioviste était ami et allié du peuple romain ; et que, par conséquent, cette guerre était *illégale*, d'une manière manifeste. César lui-même nous en donne la preuve décisive, quand il justifie son attaque par les considérations générales sur le prestige romain, que M. Holmes trouve suffisantes. Ces justifications ont une grande valeur pour ses admirateurs du XX^{me} siècle. Mais César écrivait pour ses contemporains ; et pour imposer le silence à ses ennemis, qui l'accusaient d'avoir agi en Gaule contre les lois, une provocation précise d'Arioviste, fournissant un prétexte raisonnable pour briser

l'alliance, aurait servi beaucoup mieux que tous les profonds plans politiques exposés par César, au chapitre que M. Holmes a tant admiré. Une guerre illégale était toujours une aventure risquée pour un gouverneur romain qui avait beaucoup d'ennemis à Rome ; et l'illégalité était dans ce cas si grande que les soldats refusèrent de marcher, en disant entre autres choses (Dion, 38, 39), que la guerre n'était *οὔτε προσήκοντα οὔτε ἐψηφισμένον*, ' ni juste ni légale.' Il n'est donc pas possible d'expliquer la guerre d'Arioviste, que par un motif *urgent, qui ne permettait pas à César d'attendre* jusqu'au moment où il pourrait faire naître un *casus belli* un peu plus sérieux ; et qui l'a obligé à marcher au devant de tous les dangers impliqués dans une guerre illégale.

Le lecteur connait peut-être la théorie que j'ai émise pour expliquer ce point obscur. L'alliance avec Arioviste fut l'effet des craintes excessives qu'excita à Rome le mouvement des Helvètes. On crut que les Helvètes allaient preparer, par le conquête de la Gaule, une nouvelle invasion de l'Italie, comme celle des Cimbres et des Teutons, tandis que leur emigration avait été simplement machinée par le parti national gaulois pour chasser Arioviste. Les intrigues du parti romanophile des Éduens et ceux d'Arioviste ne furent pas étrangers, probablement, à ces craintes exagerées de l'opinion publique à Rome, dont la cause première doit être cherchée dans l'ignorance profonde où l'on était à Rome sur les affaires gauloises. Quoi qu'il en soit, César, obéissant à l'opinion publique, fit l'alliance avec Arioviste contre les futurs nouveaux Cimbres et Teutons ; et s'engagea résolument dans la politique antihelvètique. Entré en Gaule, il s'attaqua aux Helvètes et il les obligea à rénoncer à leur mouvement, en faisant rater par là le plan conçu par le parti national contre Arioviste. Mais la guerre finie, il s'aperçut que s'il en restait là, il aurait tout simplement travaillé pour le roi des Suèves ; qu'il en était fait pour toujours du prestige et des sympathies dont Rome jouissait parmi les Gaulois ; qu'il n'y aurait plus un parti romanophile dans toute la Gaule. Comme à ce moment là il ne pensait pas encore à annexer la Gaule, cette situation représentait un véritable désastre pour la politique romaine en Gaule. Pour éviter ce désastre, il se tourna contre Arioviste, poussé par les chefs du parti romanophile, pour les quels la guerre contre Arioviste était le seul moyen de rétablir leur situation, fort compromise par l'alliance de Rome avec les Suèves.

Je crois que cette hypothèse éclaircit d'une manière satisfaisante certains points obscurs de notre histoire. Mais je reconnais qu'on ne peut l'accepter, qui si on ne trouve, dans les textes et dans les faits, aucun argument qui soit en contradiction avec elle. M. Holmes croit en avoir trouvé plusieurs. Nous allons donc les examiner. Pourquoi, me demande M. Holmes à p. 213, le parti romanophile a laissé César faire la guerre contre les Helvètes et *kept him in ignorance* sur son véritable caractère, au lieu de le lancer tout de suite sur Arioviste ? Parce que César agissait d'après les idées qu'on avait, sur la situation de la Gaule, à Rome ; et non pas d'après les idées des Éduens. À

Rome on ne voyait à ce moment dans les affaires gauloises que le danger helvètique ; on se préoccupait d'arrêter à des débuts le mouvement des nouveaux Cimbres et Teutons, et non pas de rétablir l'indépendance de la Gaule, en chassant Arioviste, en qui on voyait plutôt un allié utile et un ami. César ne pouvait pas agir à sa guise en Gaule ; il devait tenir compte des idées qui couraient à Rome, dans le monde politique et dans le public. M. Holmes essaye en suite de prouver que l'émigration des Helvètes ne pouvait pas avoir le but que j'ai supposé ; et il commence par me demander (p. 209) : ' how and when did they (les Helvètes) propose to drive back Ariovistus ?' À cela je réponds que je n'en sais rien. Ce qui me semble le plus probable, c'est que le parti de Dumnorix cherchait à transporter cette population belliqueuse dans des territoires situés dans le nord-est de la Gaule, de l'établir dans ces territoires, pour pouvoir recruter un jour dans cette population une armée contre Arioviste. Mais M. Holmes ajoute des objections topographiques. ' Ariovistus was in the plain of Alsace. Let Signor Ferrero look at his map, and ask himself whether a movement more insane than a trek from Geneva to the neighbourhood of Lyons, across the Saône, up the valley of the Saône to the neighbourhood of Macon, then westward toward Toulon-sur-Arroux, then northward to the plateau of Langres, and then back again eastward a hundred miles or more " toward the Rhine "—a trek in bullock-carts full of non-combatants, against a powerful host which there was no motive for attacking—was ever planned outside Bedlam.' Mais j'ai déjà dit qu'il n'est point nécessaire de supposer que l'émigration des Helvètes allait, comme une armée en formation complète, attaquer immédiatement Arioviste ; elle allait occuper les territoires qu'on lui donnait, comme les Germains qu'Arioviste faisait venir d'outre Rhin, pour s'y tenir prête à fournir une armée. Il n'est donc non plus nécessaire de supposer que les Helvètes se dirigeaient vers l'endroit où Arioviste campait. Quant à la route prise par les Helvètes, elle peut sembler ' insane ' à celui qui l'étudie sur une carte de l'Europe moderne. Evidemment ceux qui veulent aujourd'hui se rendre du territoire situé entre les Alpes et le Jura dans la France du nord-est n'ont pas besoin de passer par Macon, Autun, et Langres Pourquoi les Helvètes ont-ils pris, il y a dix-neuf siècles, ce chemin ? Parce qu'ils voulaient passer par le riche territoire des Éduens, qui étaient leurs amis et qui pouvaient leur donner des vivres. César lui-même nous dit que le Helvètes portaient avec eux seulement le blé suffisant pour trois mois ; et il ne faut pas croire qu'à cette époque une masse d'hommes aussi considérable que les Helvètes pouvait trouver des vivres partout, en Europe.

Mais M. Holmes nie aussi que les Helvètes ont marché vers le nord-est. Before the battle in which they have been defeated they had struck westwards, from the valley of the Saône with the object of reaching their destination. . . . Having been defeated, they were not permitted to move toward the Atlantic coast ' (p. 209). Après avoir traversé la Saône, à un point qui ne peut être indiqué avec precision (probablement aux environs de Macon), les Helvètes commençent une longue marche, qui dure plusieurs jours, et sur la quelle César

nous donne seulement deux indications topographiques. La première nous apprend que la colonne des Helvètes est arrivée à la hauteur de Bibracte; la seconde qu'elle a continué sa route, après la bataille, pour Langres. Il suffit de regarder une carte, pour voir que cet itinéraire indique l'intention de marcher vers le nord-est. M. Holmes parait attribuer cette direction à la bataille; mais il n'en est rien. Les Helvètes étaient arrivés à la hauteur de Bibracte avant la bataille; ce sont eux donc, qui avaient entrainé à leur remorque les Romains vers le nord. Quant à la bataille, qui fut donnée par les Helvètes et non par les Romains, elle semble avoir eu pour seul résultat, celui d'arrêter les Romains, qui furent obligés de rester trois jours sur le champ de bataille pour soigner les blessés et enterrer les morts, tandis que les Helvètes continuaient, sans plus en être molestés, leur marche. Si les Helvètes allaient leur chemin avant la bataille, quand ils étaient talonnés par les Romains, il est au moins téméraire de supposer qu'ils se sont jetés à l'aventure, dans la Gaule, sur la première route qu'ils ont trouvée, quand ils avaient reussi à immobiliser l'ennemi pour trois jours et à le distancer de toute la marche qu'ils avaient pu accomplir en trois jours.

M. Holmes ne voit pas dans le récit de César les contradictions que j'ai cru signaler. Si César a attribué à l'émigration des Helvètes deux buts très différents—la conquête de la Gaule et l'émigration dans la Saintonge—c'est que les plans des Helvètes avaient changé après la mort d'Orgetorix. Telle est l'explication de la difficulté qu'il donne à p. 208. À la p. 207 il en avait déjà donnée une autre, qui ne me semble pas s'accorder avec la seconde : c'est que l'émigration dans le Saintonge était une véritable invasion de la Gaule, et en avait tous les dangers. 'Unless we grant Signor Ferrero's assumption that the proposed trek into Saintonge was harmless, his whole case breaks down.' Les deux explications, contradictoires entre elles, me semblent toutes les deux insoutenables. Le changement du plan, produit par le mort d'Orgetorix, est une hypothèse de M. Holmes pour écarter du texte de César la contradiction; mais cette-ci n'existe pas moins pour cela. Cesar (*B. G.* 1, 2) dit qu'Orgetorix persuade les Helvètes *perfacile esse . . . totius Galliae imperio potiri.* Plus loin (chap. 5) ajoute: Post eius (Orgetorix) mortem nihilominus Helvetii id quod constituerant facere conantur, ut e finibus suis exeant.' César dit donc très clairement le contraire de ce que M. Holmes affirme—c'est-à-dire que la mort d'Orgetorix n'avait rien changé aux plans des Helvètes. Et voilà enfin qu'au dixième chapitre on annonce tout à coup à César *Helvetiis esse in animo . . . iter in Santonum fines facere:* cette dernière affirmation n'est-elle pas différente de la précédente?

Quant à l'autre explication, il me semble que César lui-même la refute. Si l'émigration dans la Saintonge avait été une entreprise aussi dangereuse pour l'empire romain, que la conquête de la Gaule entière dont l'intention était attribuée aux Helvètes, pourquoi aurait-il justifié en définitive son mouvement offensif contre les Helvètes par la necessité d'aider les Éduens, dont le territoire aurait été pillé par les Helvètes (ce qui n'était pas, d'ailleurs, exact)?

Pourquoi aurait-il eu recours à cette explication mensongère, quand il en avait une si bonne aux yeux des Romains ? M. Holmes (p. 207) m'accuse de 'pure misrepresentation,' parce que j'affirme que César veut faire croire 'that it was only . . . after the ambassadors of the Aedui asked him for help that he decided to attack the Helvetii.' Puis-je prier M. Holmes de relire avec moi les chapitres X et XI du premier livre des Commentaires ? Au X^me^ chapitre César dit, qu'ayant appris l'intention des Helvètes d'aller dans la Saintonge, il alla chercher son armée au delà des Alpes et qu'il revint avec elle dans la Province. Au chapitre XI il raconte qu'il fut, à sa rentrée dans le Province, visité par les ambassadeurs des Éduens et d'autres peuples qui le prièrent de les secourir contre les Helvètes. Et il ajoute: '*Quibus rebus adductus* (persuadé donc par les remonstrances des ambassadeurs) Caesar non expectandum sibi statuit dum, omnibus fortunis sociorum consumptis, in Santonos Helvetii pervenirent.' Le texte est si clair, que je ne conçois pas comment un historien aussi distingué que M. Holmes ait pu m'accuser de 'mis-représentation.'

M. Holmes me demandera probablement sur quoi je m'appuie pour affirmer que César a altéré la verité, quand il nous a décrit les Éduens implorant son aide contre les Helvètes qui menaçaient de *omnes fortunas sociorum consumere*. Sur ce fait: que quelques chapitres plus loin (au XVII^me^) César est obligé d'admettre que Dumnorix, le protecteur des Helvètes, était si populaire, qu'il tenait en échec tout le gouvernement et que celui qui toucherait à lui serait détesté par toute la Gaule. Il serait difficile de comprendre une telle popularité, si les Helvètes avaient mis la Gaule à fer et à feu, comme on le raconte dans le onzième chapitre.

Enfin M. Holmes fait encore une objection: 'Is it not self-evident that if it had become "notorious" that the plan of conquering the whole of Gaul had never been formed, Caesar would not have been so foolish as to describe it?' En réalité, César a compris qu'il ne pouvait pas expliquer toute sa politique avec les Helvètes en se servant de cette prétendue conquête que les Helvètes voulaient faire. Il y avait désormais, à la fin des guerres gauloises, assez de personnes renseignées à Rome, qui n'auraient pas été dupes de cette mistification ; et d'ailleurs la narration même aurait donné le plus éloquent des démentis à cette assertion. Est-il possible d'admettre que si les Helvètes avaient voulu conquérir la Gaule, ils se seraient conduits comme César le raconte ? Mais beaucoup de personnes avaient cru en Italie au grand danger helvètique ; un souvenir confus des craintes ressenties au 60 et 59 devait encore rester dans l'esprit public, à l'époque où César écrivait, vers la fin des guerres gauloises ; César n'avait aucun intérêt à détromper entièrement ses lecteurs et à renoncer à ce qui lui restait de la gloire d'avoir vaincu les nouveaux Cimbres et Teutons. Ainsi il a laissé glisser, dans son récit, sous une forme attenuée, la legende qui avait inspiré la politique romaine en 60 et 59 et qui explique l'alliance avec Arioviste, en comptant qu'on ne s'apercevrait pas de la contradiction entre le commencement et la suite du récit, déguisée par lui

avec beaucoup d'art. Il ne s'est pas trompé d'ailleurs ; je crois avoir été le premier, après vingt siècles, à avertir cette contradiction ; M. Holmes lui-même, qui pourtant a si bien étudié les Commentaires, ne s'en était pas aperçu. Il a fait plus : il a employé toute sa doctrine pour prouver que la contradiction n'existe pas. Décidément César a eu beaucoup de chance, non seulement comme guerrier, mais aussi comme historien.

GUGLIELMO FERRERO.

NOTES ON LATIN WORD-ACCENT.

It is a well-known fact that, although the morphology of the Latin language favours the assumption that its accent was primarily one of stress, Latin writers before the fourth century invariably regarded it as one of pitch, like that of Greek. The majority of those who have discussed this inconsistency of data have accepted the evidence of morphology rather than that of the Latin writers, maintaining that the latter were misled in their theories by blindly following Greek doctrines. Vendryes (*Recherches*, Paris, 1902), however, found not a little favour in his attempt to rehabilitate the credibility of the Latin grammarians. Nevertheless, the theory which he proposed—that Latin changed from a stress to a pitch accent before Varro, and back again to a stress accent before the Middle Ages—was scarcely satisfactory, assuming as it did so incredibly rapid a shift. Recently Abbott (*Cl. Phil.* II., p. 444) suggested a compromise. He believes that, while in popular Latin the accent always continued to be primarily one of stress, in formal Latin, influenced as it was by Greek, a pitch accent was for a while in vogue. I shall not discuss these various theories; I only wish to offer some minor considerations which seem to me to have some bearing upon the problem.

(*a*) Musical accent of words, as is well known, gives speech a peculiar 'sing-song.' Americans notice this in the speech of the English, who have retained a marked element of pitch in their accent. The phenomenon is even more noticeable in the speech of Swedes and Norwegians, whose word-accent is, perhaps, primarily one of pitch. In fact, in the 'immigrant comedies' that sometimes appear on the American stage, this modulation is a source of no little amusement. Now, though the Latin writers found it possible in a general way to apply the rules of Greek accent to their own language, it is likely that, if their accent was more intensive, they must have been aware of a unique 'sing-song' in the speech of the Greeks and of the Greek immigrants, who spoke Latin imperfectly. Some of the satire of Petronius seems to be directed at this very phenomenon. His words are (Sat. 68): 'seruus qui ad pedes Habinnae sedebat . . . proclamauit subito *canora uoce*:

Interea medium Aeneas iam classe tenebat.

nu us sonus unquam *acidior* percussit aures meas; nam praeter *errantis barbariae* aut *adiectum aut deminutum clamorem* miscebat Atellanicos uersus, etc.

In ch. 59 the same method of reading is ascribed to Trimalchio, 'ille *canora uoce Latine legebat librum.*'

Petronius is satirizing the manners and utterances of Greek and Asiatic-Greek freedmen near Naples. He has made fun of their mistakes in grammatical forms, in diction, and in pronunciation. It seems to me that in the passages just cited he also satirizes the 'sing-song' of the musical accent that Greeks would naturally carry into their reading of Latin. The words *canora uoce, acidior, errantis* (taken literally), most naturally refer to the rise and fall of pitch, which, by the evidence of what follows, is displeasing to the Roman ear. *Adiectum aut deminutum clamorem* may well refer to the same thing.

If this interpretation is correct, if the educated Roman was in the habit of detecting the nationality of the despised Graeculus by the varying pitch of his accent, then we can safely use this passage as contributing further evidence to the fact that the Greek accent was musical to an extent that Latin was not.

These passages are usually interpreted as referring to the recitative chant mentioned by Quintilian (XI. 3, 57); that chant, however, was in monotone (*syntonorum modis*, Quintilian, IX. 4, 142), and would hardly be described by the phrases cited from Petronius. Furthermore, it had been in vogue so long by Nero's day and was so common that Petronius would not have chosen it as a peculiarly amusing characteristic of his freedmen.

(*b*) While speaking of the Latin accent, I wish to add a second observation that touches the same question, though more remotely. It is very often charged that Cicero, Varro, and Quintilian must have been singularly obtuse not to notice that the Latin accent was one of stress, if such was actually the case. Furthermore, there are scholars who refuse to believe in a stress accent because of the explicit statements of Cicero, Varro, and the grammarians to the contrary. Such scholars seem to me to expect entirely too much acumen on the part of the Romans. Latin grammarians were wont to accept the rules of the Greek grammars if they applied approximately well to their own language. In the case of accent, they undoubtedly applied as far as they went, though their application extended only to the accessory variation of pitch, and not to the more fundamental stress accent. But, considering that to all practical purposes the rules *did* apply, are we not requiring too much when we demand that the Romans should have delved below the surface of so workable a rule? I believe that we are, and I have come to this belief by noticing some parallel cases of misapplication of accent rules.

Almost all of the early grammarians of the modern languages have done precisely what the Latin grammarians did—that is, they have applied the rules of pitch accent as found in the Latin grammars to their respective vernaculars without noticing any particular discrepancies. There is no doubt, for instance, that the English accent is expiratory, and yet there was enough of the musical element in the language to make the ancient rules appear

satisfactory to early grammarians, who forthwith adopted and applied them without criticism. Note the following characteristic passages:

Puttenham II. 7 (1589) writes: 'It caused them (the Greeks and Latins) to give unto three different sounds, three several names: to that which was *highest lift up* and *most elevate* or *shrillest* in the eare they gave the name of the *sharpe accent* . . . all this *by good observation we may perceive in our vulgar wordes*,' etc. Cf. also Samuel Daniel, *A Defense of Rhyme* (about 1603): 'As the short and long make number, so the *acute* and *grave* accent make rhythm.' See further instances in Ben Jonson's *Grammar* (1637, 'in accent which is *tune*'), in Stanyhurst's prologue to his translation of *Aeneid* I.-IV. (1582), et al. Surely Ben Jonson, Daniel, and Puttenham cannot be considered singularly obtuse. Ancient authority gave them rules that seemed sufficient for English as they had formerly seemed sufficient for Latin, and they adopted them. The very same thing occurred when the early German grammarians were confronted with the problem of defining the nature of their accent. Saran (*Deutsche Verslehre*, p. 10 ff.) cites several of these to the point. According to him, it was not till 1816, in the work of Scoppa, that these definitions began to approach correctness. My point is then that, since the stress accent escaped notice for so long a time even among modern grammarians, we need not charge the Romans with unusual obtuseness for failing to find it, nor, on the other hand, deny its existence in Latin by argumentum ex silentio.

TENNEY FRANK.

Bryn Mawr.

THE 'CODEX LEIDENSIS' OF LIVY.

For the purposes of the new text of Livy which Professor Conway and Professor C. F. Walters are preparing for the Oxford Series of Classical Texts, I undertook in 1908 to examine the *Codex Leidensis*, which contains Livy's first decade.

By the courtesy of Dr. S. G. Vries, Librarian, and Dr. Molhuysen, Keeper of the Manuscripts in the University of Leiden, who first gave me access to the MS. in their University Library, and afterwards lent it for my purposes to the University of Manchester, I was enabled to collate L in all points where the Nicomachean Codices showed any divergence of the least importance from one another or from the Veronensis, using for this purpose the notes of readings lent to me by Professors Conway and Walters. Their references to chapters and sections follow Madvig's third edition; but, except where some other authority is quoted, as Drakenborch in Table C below, the reading which I have given first is the *lemma* of the unpublished text of Conway and Walters, which does not necessarily agree with Madvig.

Of the early history of the MS. I have found no record. Drakenborch himself first saw it in 1714. It was subsequently sold by auction at the Hague to Samuel Hulf, from whom Peter Burmann bought it in 1730 for the University of Leiden, where it was collated by Drakenborch, according to the library record, '*Contulit Drakenborchius*,' and his own statement, '*Usui meo concessus praeclarum huius editionis ornamentum est*' (Drak. vol. vii. p. 323). Part of it was collated by Th. Mommsen when he was editing the Veronese palimpsest, and it has also been consulted by Frigell, Kiehl, and Deiter.

The MS., which is ascribed to the eleventh or twelfth century,[1] consists of 103 folia, 42 lines to a page, in a minuscule hand; and well deserves its description in the catalogue, *nitide scriptus*.

Wrong division of words is extraordinarily frequent in it; the punctuation also is so erratic as to be quite valueless. Capital letters are generally used at the beginning of sentences (according to L's punctuation), but not, as a rule, for proper names. From these faults the recto of fol. 1, which, whether by the same or a different hand, is more boldly written than the rest, is on the whole free. Two other common errors are especially frequent in L—the omission of the cedilla, which transforms *e* into the diphthong *æ*, and the

[1] '*Codex Membranaceus* XI.-XII. saec.' (*MS. note by a modern librarian inside cover of the MS. itself.*)

omission or wrong insertion of the sign ˜ for *m*. The spelling is not uniform; thus *uulsci* and *uolsci* alternate freely, even within the same chapter; for *Veientes* we often get *Vehientes*, and sometimes *Veihentes* and even *Venientes*. *Obtinus* is not uncommon, and *dampno, dampnum* occur side by side with *damno, damnum*. On the other hand, L is fairly consistent in the spelling of *Porsenna*, a name which occurs frequently in Book II., though two or three times we find *Porsinna*.

As in other Latin MSS. of this epoch (tenth to twelfth century) *t* (especially before *i*, followed by another vowel) is frequently confused with *c*. Thus, e.g., we have on the one hand *t* for *c* in *inditium, Lutius*, and *c* for *t* in *sedicio, pacior, nuncius*.

A peculiarity of L is the misplacing of a letter in the abbreviations $\overline{\text{SOC}}$ (*senatus consulto*), and $\overline{\text{SMC}}$ (*senatus consultum*), which alternate with the more regular $\overline{\text{SC}}$. I have not found this transposition mentioned as occurring in other MSS., though on this point I have consulted Cappelli, *Dizionario di Abbreviature;* Chassant, *Dictionnaire des Abréviations;* Lindsay, *Introduction to Latin Textual Emendation* and *Contractions in Early Latin Minuscule Manuscripts;* and Prou, *Manuel de Paléographie*.

Tyberis is always spelt with a *y*, which is always dotted.[1]

Glosses.—L originally contained a large number of marginal glosses, containing summaries of the text—e.g. at the beginning of Book IV. on the right-hand margin are the words *consi noui* (*Consules noui*), and on fol. 36 line 17 (Bk. III. 68) there remains *consul q̇d de iuuentute p̃cipiant*. Nearly all these marginalia were subsequently erased, but, in spite of the erasion, it is still possible in some cases to decipher them sufficiently to see their general character. Thus on fol. 2 (Bk. I. ch. iv.) we may read <Am>ulius regnat . . . fratris. . . .

Interlinear glosses are very rare, but a specimen is (fol. 36) *dubitantem, tardantem*, written over *cunctantem*.

Incorporated Glosses.—A certain number of glosses of the former kind have been incorporated in the text—noticeably the '*Secum demptius*,' etc., quoted *infra* Table C, Bk. VIII. 9. 12, and Bk. V. 54, for *natum uni*[*ce locum*], *natum. Uniquoto anno a Gallis roma uastata sit*[2] (Table C).

Dislocations.—The most remarkable dislocation of the text is at the end of Book V., where chs. lii.-lv. are omitted, to be inserted after Bk. VI. 2 (see *infra*, Table C). This passage appears in H in its proper place.

Subscriptiones.—The codex contains prefaces and postscripts to several of the books, referring to recensions of the text by the family of the Symmachi.[3] These notes are in very corrupt form, but are similar to those in M and H.

Sigla.—For convenience we may divide the MS. into two parts, *a* foll.

[1] The dotted *y* is of common occurrence in MSS. of this period.

[2] Here H omits *unice———urbis*.

[3] Mentioned in letters of Q. Aurelius Symmachus (end of fourth cent. A.D.).

1-56 (Books I.-V.) and β foll. 57-103 (Books VI.-X.); certain differences in the sigla and the writing seem to indicate that α and β are not contemporary.[1]

et. The siglum & occurs very frequently throughout.

est is represented by ẽ or ÷ indifferently in α; in β, ẽ is almost universal: I have noted ÷ only twice (fol. 82 and fol. 103), in both cases at the end of a line and beyond the usual alignment, so that it might be a subsequent addition.[2]

esset. & &̃ is common in α and not uncommon in β, though in the latter we often find the form eẽt, which does not occur in α.

esse is regularly $\overset{s}{e}\overset{s}{e}$ in α; on fol. 57 we have eẽ, and so usually to the end.

$\overset{o}{u}$ (uero), $\overset{o}{m}$ (modo), and $\overset{i}{g}$ (igitur) are common in both halves of the MS.

Forms of Letters.—Fol. 57 is remarkable for the very frequent occurrence of the open form of the letter *a*, sometimes almost like *u*. Hitherto it had been very rare, occurring occasionally in $\overset{u}{\tilde{p}}$, a variant of $\tilde{p}$ (*prae*), and (chiefly at the end of a word) rarely in foll. 7-14, but not, I believe, elsewhere in α. On fol. 57 examples are very numerous, and in the rest of β it is found frequently, though not to the exclusion of the ordinary forms of the letter, α and a.

In other ways the writing of β seems to be different from that of α. A further peculiarity is the occurrence of initial capital letters *extra lineam* on the left margin, and in some of the folia of β we find some exceptionally long cursive forms of the letters *s* and *t*, and a large *S* which is a ligature of *us* at the end of a word.

Thus the differences in the commonest sigla make for the theory that the two halves of the codex are to some extent independent, and the fact, that while Book V. ends with the *Subscriptio* of Nicomachus at the end of fol. 56, Book VI. on the next fol. begins with a repetition (in a form showing some new corruptions) of the same *Subscriptio*, is another piece of evidence on the same side.[3] That the two halves are not, however, derived entirely from independent sources, is shown by the fact that a long passage omitted from fol. 56 is inserted on fol. 58. We must therefore assume that the dislocation already existed in the exemplar from which both α (Books I.-V.) and β (Books VI.-X.) were copied. It may have been due to the misplacing of a folium in that exemplar or some earlier MS.[4]

Importance of H and L.—All critics, from Drakenborch to the present

[1] Dianu, in his study of *Codex Thuaneus* (*Introduction*, p. 6), notes that this division into half decades was not infrequent.

[2] Lindsay (*Contractions in early Latin minuscule MSS.*) mentions ẽ, eẽ, and eẽt as *Notae Juris*—really preminuscule contractions, which were gradually superseded.

[3] At the bottom of *fol.* 56 (*verso*):

Titi Li vii Nicomachvs Dextervm Emndari ad exemplvm parentis mei clementiani ab vrbe cond̄ victorianvs emendabam domnis simmachis liber. v. explicit.

At the top of *fol.* 57 (*recto*):

Titi Livii Tincomachvs Dextervm emendari ad exemplv̂ parentis mei clementiani ab vrbe cond̄ Victorianvs emendabam domnis Sym-machis. Liber qvintvs explicit.

Incipit liber VI.

[4] Professor Walters has noted the same dislocation in D at this point; but it does not appear in H, nor has it been noted in any other MS., though there is some evidence of corruption: *vide* Drak.'s note, cited in Table C, *ad loc.*

generation, seem to have tacitly assumed the practical identity of L with H.[1] Drakenborch himself collated the *Leidensis*; the *Harleianus* was collated for him by Casley of the British Museum, and these two were his best material, as he knew little of M, nothing of P, and next to nothing of T.

Professor Walters, however (Camb. Phil. Soc., *Proc.*, October 30, 1902), showed from his own collation of H that in Books I.-V., at any rate, H was much better than had been supposed, and cannot be coupled with L; and that even in Books VI.-VIII. the close degree of the relationship between H and L has been exaggerated (cf. *Classical Quarterly*, July, 1908).

But the exact relation of L to H was not yet determined; still less its relation to other MSS. of the first decade. These relations are important in view of the fact that Books IX., X. are wanting in H, and, further, because of the inferiority of M in some parts of Books VI.-X.; and, generally, because the MS. evidence for VI.-X. is not quite the same as for I.-V.

On these grounds we cannot afford to neglect the authority of the *Leidensis*.

Knowledge of the first decade is now more accessible, and we have a better basis of grouping before us, thanks to Dianu's collation of T and his account of the close relation between T and H, and to Häggström's collation of U, and Frigell's collation of various MSS. of Books I.-III. I have also had the advantage of private access to Walters' collation of H (Books I.-VIII.) and of F (Books IX., X.), as well as to Conway and Walters' extensive notes, not only on MPHL, but also on FOTDA.

Relation of L to H.—With a view to the study of the exact nature of the relationship between H and L, I have collected a number of passages where either one of the two omits words which occur in the other, or the two agree in omissions. Both the resemblances and the differences are of some importance: the differences as indicating the extent to which H and L are independent of each other; the resemblances as tending to show that some, but only some, of their mistakes have a common origin.

In H we find a certain number of peculiarities obviously due to the supervising editor in some previous exemplar, who has made unsuccessful attempts to correct a corrupt text. Thus in V. 52. 11, for *Aio Locutio Templum* H gives *allocutionis templum;* whereas L, preserving the meaningless *allocutio templum*, is nearer to the original. Again, in II. 33. 9, *Postumum Cominium bellum gessisse*, H's predecessor substituted the familiar *comminus* for the less familiar proper name, where L retains the corrupt *comminius*, to the detriment of grammar.

Such corrections as those of H are not frequent in L.

The insertions in L are due either to simple dittography or to the

[1] 'Ipsi haud dubie inter bonos et praestantes L_1 et H_1, qui quam sint cognati ex eiusmodi mendis communibus nec ad ullos praeterea propagatis intelligi potest.' Drak. vol. vii. pp. 321-322. Drakenborch, writing in 1746, computed the age of H at seven or eight centuries, and of L at six or seven centuries, and he ranks L as second only to the Florentinus (M), *vide* Drak., *loc. cit.* H is now assigned by the British Museum authorities to the tenth century, L by the Leiden authorities to the eleventh or twelfth century.

incorporation of glosses; not, so far as I could judge, to any independent tradition.

The various tables appended below give cumulative evidence for my conclusions on the relationship of the two MSS., which may thus be stated:

(i.) Of the family to which H and L are assumed to belong, H comes from an older branch; for H does not show the dislocation in Books V. and VI., and H has the text complete in many places where L has omissions.

(ii.) L *is not a copy of* H, for L is often complete where H has omissions; e.g. particularly in III. 72. 2, where H omits about three-quarters of a chapter.

(iii.) H *and* L *are nevertheless closely related*, for they have (1) many minor omissions in common, and (2) some incorporations in common (e.g. VIII. 9. 12, Secum demptius, etc., Table C.).

Many variations of reading between the two might have been accounted for as divergences caused by the misreading or miscorrection of the same exemplar by two quite independent copyists. But one exception is very important—namely, the dislocation at V. 52 in L. I have already given my reasons for believing that this dislocation existed in L's exemplar; but if it had existed in H's exemplar, it is a reasonable supposition either that it would have been reproduced by H's scribe, or that the restoration to the proper order would have left some trace in H—e.g. at least a small dittography. Therefore I believe that L's exemplar was closely related to that of H, being perhaps a copy of the same archetype, but differed from it at least in this point.

TABLE A.

SOME EXAMPLES OF OMISSIONS IN H AND L.[1]

Book I.

7. 12. Herculi—dapemque	*om. HLRDO.*
23. 8. hoc magis scis	*HO, om. L.*
24. 6. is patrem	is *om. HLRD.*
26. 9. iure caesum filium	*L, om. H.*
27. 5. hostem	*H, om. L.*
36. 4. rem	*L, om. H.*
39. 6. ut in domo	ut, *om. HL.*
45. 5. immolasset — fani Dianae	*L, om. H.*
47. 1. ad aliud	*H, om. LRD.*
59. 1. ui	*H, om. L.*
56. 4. anxiis	*om. HLR.*

Book II.

1. 1. ab se auctae	*HRO*, se *om. L.*
1. 4. quid enim	*LO*, enim *om. H.*
14. 6. concitato	*L, om. H.*
17. 6. quam ob . . . Comi-nium	*L, om. H.*
18. 11. praestare—erat	*LO, om. H.*
23. 2. et inter	*H*, et *om. LRD.*
36. 5. ira	*HO, om. LRD.*
41. 6. habeant	*O* (aberant *DL*), *om. H.*
41. 7. et intercessor	*HO, om. RDL.*
44. 5. eorum	*HO, om. RDL.*
46. 1. pugnarint	*LOR, om. H.*
52. 2. in uniuersos	*H*, in *om. RLD.*
56. 6-7. auctor — aetatis eius	*H, om. L.*
64. 3. cum caedes	*LO*, cum *om. H.*
65. 4. sic	*HO, om. RDL.*

Book III.

2. 8. hoc est	*LO*, est *om. H.*
5. 9. hostium	*LO, om. H.*
5. 10. minor caedes — impetum dedit	*L, om. H.*
6. 8. patrum	*H, om. L.*
14. 4. cum ingenti	*LO*, cum *om. H.*
18. 3. id poscere — ciuitatem	*LOD, om. H.*
20. 3. iurastis	*LO, om. H.*

[1] For an account of the chief MSS. referred to, see Professor Walters' article in the *Classical Quarterly*, July, 1908.

26. 12. et imperi—rata . *LRDO, om. H.*
38. 6. tentationemque . *HO,* -que *om. RDL.*
41. 6. ad consules . . *LO,* ad *om. H.*
45. 2. in libertatem . . *HO,* in *om. RL.*
51. 3. cum id enim . . *LO,* cum *om. H.*
54. 12. qui . . . *HO, om. L.*
56. 6. dictae . . . *HO, om. RDL.*
56. 11. quod si . . . *HO,* si *om. RL.*
59. 4. fuissent ut . . *LO,* ut *om. H.*
61. 13. pauci recursantesque . . . *HAO, om. L.*
64. 10. quos hi sibi . . hi *om. HRLAO.*
71. 3. dicere . . . *HOA, om. RL.*
72. 2. *omnia post* exemplo ad *usque ad libri huius finem om. H.* (*i.e.*—three-quarters of a chapter), *retinet L.*

Book IV.

2. 12. hostes tantum arcessissent — hostes tantum non patiantur . . . *L,* hostes tantum non patiantur *H.*
3. 10. patribus auctoribus auctoribus *om. HL.*
4. 1. uero . . . *L, om. H.*
4. 10. eodem itinere eat ne idem conuiuium *L,* itinere — idem *om. H.*
6. 4. res. . . . *L, om. H.*
9. 3. ex domo—iuuenem *L, om. H.*
12. 6. Proculo . . . *O, om. HL.*
14. 3. ad senatum . . *LAO, om. H.*
17. 6. summouere — anienem . . . *L, om. H.*
20. 3. quae prima . . *HO, om. L.*
21. 10. alii alia . . . *L,* alia *om. H.*
23. 2. tribunos militum . *L,* militum *om. H.*
25. 3. quoque—implicitis *L, om. H.*
28. 3. circumuenti igitur *H,* igitur *om. L.*
33. 4. signa . . . *H, om L.*
35. 9. uirum . . . *H, om L.*
38. 3. uexillo cuspidem — ullos equites . . *L,* uexillos equites *H.*
40. 4. diem dixerant . *H,* diem *om. L.*
43. 10. unde si quid . . . non exercitum . *H,* unde—non *om. L.*
44. 1. habita . . . Cincinnatus . . . *H, om. L.*
46. 5. ductu L. Sergii cuius . . . *H,* ducti L. cuius *L.*
54. 3. P. Aelius . . *H, om. L.*
56. 13. ui atque . . *om. HL.*
58. 2. tantum afuit . . *H,* tantum, *om. L.*

Book V.

6. 4. ut hiemem . . *LO, om. H.*
8. 1. Q. Sulpicium A. . *om. et alieno loco inser., HL.*
11. 4. et qui . . . *LO,* qui *om. H.*
12. 13. missumque . . *O,* que *om. HLA.*
18. 7. praecipitauere se . *HOA,* se *om. L.*
20. 5. altera . . . *HOA, om. L.*
24. 10. urbibus . . . *HO, om. LA.*
29. 2. ulti . . . *H, om. L.*
36. 11. haud secus . . *LAO,* haud *om. H.*
36. 12. quarto . . . *LAO, om. H.*
P. Seruilius . . *LAO, om. H.*
37. 2. aut . . . *LAO, om. H.*
39. 2. ubi cum . . *LAO,* cum *om. H.*
46. 6. et Caedicius . . *O, om. HL.*
52. 5. Sacerdotes nostros *LAO, om. H.*
53. 9. nouam . . . *LAO, om. H.*
54. 5. argumento—urbis . *O, om. HL.*

Book VI.

4. 9. ad Cortuosam . *T, om. HL.*
6. 3. res . . . . *HT, om. L.*
6. 4. iuuentutem . . *LT, om. H.*
9. 5. quibus Seruilius . *HT, om. L.*
9. 6. erat . . . *HT, om. L.*
18. 4. quod—dictator . *LTDO, om. H.*
18. 6. singuli—essetis . *om. HLTAD.*
18. 12. duces — qualescumque . . . *LDOT, om. H.*
21. 6. et magna . . *LDO, om. H.*
21. 9. ita placide—responsum est . . *O, om. HLTAD.*
22. 8. haud quaquam . *LTDOA,* haud *om. H.*
36. 11. uix. . . . . *O, om. HLTAD.*

Book VII.

5. 5. accusandi . . *LTDO, om. H.*
5, 6. illum praeualidum iuuenem . . *LTD, om. H.*
5. 7. erat . . . *O, om. HLTDA.*
13. 11. ut signum—iuberet *LTDO, om. H.*
16. 9. decem . . . *O, om. HLTDA.*
24. 9. tumulis—exercitum *O, om. HLTDA.*
25. 9. hae . . . *LTD, om. H.*
27. 1. ciuitatem—imperare *om. L only.*
adorta—imperare . *om. T.*
ciuitatem (*only*) . *om. H only.*
adorta—Xuiris . *om. D only.*
28. 8. supplicatum—die . *LT, om. H.*
30. 2. subiecti—nunc . *om. HL.*
30. 6. uestrum . . . *LT, om. H.*
31. 9. pro—parcerent . *om. HLTDA.*
34. 4. arx . . . *O, om. HLTD.*
38. 7. labem—agitata . *HTAO, om. L.*
40. 9. meum . . . *om. HLTDA.*

Book VIII.

1. 1. iam consules—Mamercus . . *LT, om. H.*
2. 1. senatum—praetor . *HT, om. L.*
9. 4. ope . . . *HTDAO, om. L.*
10. 13. sine hostia—uolet . *O, om. HLTDA.*
11. 12. deditionem—Latinus *LTDO, om. H.*
12. 13. aduersas — dictatorem . . . *om. HLTDA.*
12. 14. aduersas—plebi . *om. HLTDA.*
20. 9. mansisset . . *HT, om. L.*
25. 13. milia . . . *T, om. HLA.*
30. 4. -que profectus ad Imbrinium . . *HT, om. L;* Imbrinium *om. DA.*
33. 19. quo ultra—fuisse . *om, HLT.*

From these examples it appears that—(1) L often omits words which H retains, and *vice-versâ*, while the support of R and D is now on one side, now on the other; (2) where T is available, H is hardly ever in agreement with L alone as against T. It is therefore worth while to compare L with T in the matter of omissions in Books IX., X.

TABLE B.

OMISSIONS IN T AND L.

Book IX.

8. 3. haud sum ignarus —pacis . .	*T, om. L.*
9. 17. nec cum—egestis .	*OTP, om. LDA.*
11. 11. esse—Romanum .	*PFOT, om. LDA.*
22. 9. dederunt—maeroris	*OMPFUT, om. LD.*
24. 2. periculo . .	*TD, om. L.*
24. 14. imposito—Romam	*OT, om. DLA.*
36. 11. milites—abacta .	*om. LDAT.*
41. 11. expertis—incolerent	*OMP, om. LDAT.*
44. 2. T *or* Ti . . .	*MP, om. LDAT.*
46. 8-9. plebeiae — consensumque . .	*LD, om. T.*

BOOK X.

1. 1. milia . . .	*L, om. PFUT.*
3. 6. Romam . . .	*T, om. LU.*
6. 6. quinque . .	*T, om. DL.*
7. 10. per urbem . .	*PFUOM, om. TLDA.*
lituo . . .	*PFO, om. TLDA.*
11. 1. prouincia Etruria .	*M, om. PFUO TDLA.*
18. 3. perlatus est . .	*PFUO, est om. TDLA.*
19. 12. exciret—castris .	*TL, om. DA.*
22. 1. nemini—uincebatur	*DL, om. PFU.*
nemini—quintum .	*om. T.*
25. 10. fiebant—exacta .	*MP, om. TDLA.*
26. 2. experti—coniungi .	*om. LT.*
37. 6. uideretque—exisset	*DL, om. T.*
38. 2. opes . . .	*T, om. DL.*
41. 7. Romanos — uox etiam . . .	*TD, om. L.*
45. 14. Caesi . . .	*T, om. DL.*

From these examples it would seem that L has numerous omissions of words which T retains; there are certain omissions common to both, and some few cases in which L retains words omitted by T. In this last class, as in omissions, L is generally in agreement with D. These results strongly support the conclusions as to the grouping of the MSS. set forth by Professor Walters in the *Classical Quarterly*, July, 1908.

Previous Collations.—In about seventy places I have been able to correct or add to Drakenborch's collation (Drakenborch's Edition, Leiden, 1738). Considering the vastness of the task which Drakenborch accomplished, it is surprising that the corrections are so few and so unimportant as they are. The one striking omission on his part is his silence as to the transposition at the end of Book V. The list might be greatly increased if notice were taken of such trivialities as the writing of *e* for *ae*, *ā* for *a*, *ae* for *oe*, and other small errors which occur passim in L; while to note all the cases where words are wrongly divided would be a labour unprofitable and unending. Such minor variations have only been included where they were referred to by Drakenborch. In VI. 4. 9. Mommsen gives L's reading as *direpta*, whereas it is really *dirupta;* but this is the only inaccuracy which I have noticed in his citations of L.

TABLE C.

Book I.

Drakenborch's Collation.	*My Collation.*
5. 1. dehinc.	dein.
7. 12. sollemnium.	eo sollemnium.
13. 4. mouent.	moues.
ba	ba
15. 1. simulat.	simulant.
39. 3. uiden.	uidine.
46. 7. iungi aut.	iungi ut.
50. indixerat.	dixerat.
53. 6. neq.	nequam.
57. 7. quin si (*Dr.'s text; no note*).	quis.

Book II.

1. 3. ab se auctae (*Dr.'s text; no note*).	ab auctae.
2. 7. meminimus (*Dr.'s text; no note*).	me minus.
7. 10. cederem possem.	cedere possem.
	n
12. 12. infensus.	infe‖sus (*perhaps originally* infessus).

Book III.

8. 5. Gabinumque.	Gabiniumque.
9. Terentilius.	Terentillius.
	ss
12. 4. neminem unum esse cuius.	nẽ in ẽ in unũ ee cui'.
13. 3. abfuerit (*no note*).	affuerit.
21. 7. inuidiamque quae (*implied*).	inuidiam quaeq.
26. 7. uerterat L_1; uertat L_2.	uerterat L_1; euerterat L_2.
28. 9. infensus (*implied*).	insensus.
39. 7. in libertate (*implied*).	libertate.
51. 4. quam quae	quamq.
40. 13. referrent.	referent; *corr. ipse to* -ant.
51. 7. imminensque per portam Collinam.	imminensque et pportam.

Book IV.

	r
12. 9. extruria.	exuria.
18. 7. emittit.	emisit.
19. 2. cognosceret.	cognoscet.
23. 1. Q. Tubero (*implied*).	Q. tuũ (=tuuero).
31. 9. ab eis.	a Veiis.
32. 3. M.	Mam.
33. 4. acuunt.	accurrit.
33. 9. liberis frenis.	liberi frenas.
44. habita . . . Cincinnatus (*not noted*).	*om.* L.

Drakenborch's Collation.	*My Collation.*
46. 5. ductu L. cuius.	ducti L. cuius.
51. 2. praeficeret (*implied*).	praeficerent.
56. 12. respublica (*implied*).	reꝑ.

Book V.

7. 5. concilio.	contilio.
22. 7. uocauerat.	uocauerant.
34. 7. Salyum.	saluum.
41. 10. Ignes (*not noted*).	hẏmnis.
46. 10. acceptos de.	a acceptos de.
52. 8. *No note on L's reading, but Dr. observes,* 'Sacra in Lovel. 4, religiosum fuit in Frag. Hav. perperam deficiunt.'	*After* transferri sacra, *L continues at* 55. 2, qua uoce audita et senatus . . . *Ch.* 52 *is continued,* religiosum fuit *et seq. after two chapters of Book VI.* . . . speratam minime largitore duce.
54. 3. natum uni[ce locum] *not noted, but implied by reading of text*).	L *has* natum uniquoto anno a Gallis Roma uastata sit (*an incorporated gloss*).
54. 5. argumento.	argumento—urbis, *om.* L (*also* H).

Book VI.

4. 7. Iulius Iulus.	Iulus Tullus (*so Mommsen L*).
4. 9. dirupta (*rightly*), and diruta (*wrongly*), *for Dr. quotes L twice.* direpta *Mom.*	dirupta.
5. 7. creati hi.	creati hii.
12. 2. assidua.	assidue.

Book VII.

17. 10. Seruilius (*implied*).	SeR iulius (=Seruius Julius).
18. 2. Em epulum.	ẽ epulum (=est epulum).
M. Favius Ambustus.	M. Faurus Ambustus.
22. 3 (*for* abiit) habet et.	habitet.
27. 1. civitatem.	*om,* L.
29. 1. *Reading not noted.*	Et uiribus hostium et longinquitate vel religionum vel templorum spatio.
31. 9. *Not noted.*	*After* agrum qui PR̃ *L inserts from below and crosses out* senatusq. uerbis—agro.

Book VIII.

Drakenborch's Collation.	*My Collation.*
2. 1. (*Not noted, though Drak. notes the omission in Haverk.*)	senatum—praetor *om.* L.
9. 9. Insilit Leid i.; Insiluit Leid pr. (*meaning ?*)	insilit.
9. 12. *after* euidentius id fuit *Drak. notes an insertion by H and L correctly (as over), except that he gives* Decius *for L's* Demptius.	pauorem ac fugam hostium secum demptius circumferens cadit moxque consternatio et conversio latini exercitus. *This is an incorporated gloss. The origin of* demptius *is that some scribe wrote* Detius *for* Decius (*as frequently*), *and added* P̃ *for* Publius (*L generally puts this mark over initials of proper names*). *Later the* p̃ *was written in the word, and finally* dep̃tius *was expanded to* demptius.
14. 6. eis.	cis.
16. 6. pauidos (*implied*).	pauido.
11. sc *om.* L.	ex se consulto.

Book IX.

Drakenboroh's Collation.	*My Collation.*
8. 15. posse.	possent.
9. 16. (*not noted*) hostis an ciuis.	hostis Ancius.
11. 4. tunc sponsio (*implied*).	tum sponsio.
17. 8. Publilium.	Publium.
24. 14. et infandae.	et *om.*
25. 5. Samnites.	Samnitem.
33. 9. ad ius ratumque.	ad ius ratum.
34. 10. centum.	certum.
41. 3. ea.	ēā.

Book X.

14. 1. P. Decius Mus. (*not noted*).	et P. et D. decius Mus.
23. 3. quae (*implied*).	q. (=que).
24. comitio habuit.	comitia habuit (*the* h *is probably an insertion*).
28. 4. eorum proelia.	eorum esse proelia.
28. 12. uociferare.	uociferare se.
33. 4. agunt.	cogunt.
45. 1. contione (*implied*).	contentioni.
4. et uastari.	ac uastari
47. 5. gurgitem (*not noted*).	gurgentem.

J. F. Dobson.

The University,
Manchester.
January, 1910.

CARM. BVCOL. EINSIDL. II 34.

(Anth. Lat. Ries. 726, P.L.M. Baehr. III p. 64.)

nec gladio metimus nec clausis oppida muris
bella tacenda parant ; nullo iam noxia partu
femina, quaecumque est, hostem parit. arua iuuentus
nuda fodit, tardoque puer domifactus aratro
miratur patriis pendentem sedibus ensem.
sed procul a nobis infelix gloria Sullae
trinaque tempestas, moriens cum Roma supremas
desperauit ⏑ — et Martia uendidit arma.

Now that Nero reigns and the golden age is come anew, there is no fear of civil warfare. But the peace prevailing is not the repression which followed the victory of Sulla, nor the exhaustion and dishonour of the years after Philippi in the time of the triumvirate. The last words, 'Martia uendidit arma,' seem to be rightly explained by Mr Riese as 'tradidit externae feminae Cleopatrae': Horace *epod.* ix 11-13 says similarly 'Romanus . . . emancipatus feminae | fert uallum et arma miles.' In the preceding phrase the demands of metre and grammar are satisfied by Peiper's insertion of <opes>; but there is no apparent reason why this word should have been lost, and 'supremas desperauit opes' is an expression to which I can attach no particular meaning.

A feminine plural noun of iambic scansion which would most easily have been absorbed by *-auit* will provide just the sense required:

moriens cum Roma supremas
desperauit <auis> et Martia uendidit arma.

By an interpretation at least as old as Varro the 'Palatinae aues,' as Ovid and Propertius call them, the twelve vultures which appeared to Romulus at the founding of Rome, were supposed to typify twelve centuries of existence or of empire vouchsafed by destiny to the new city. Censorinus *de die nat.* 17 15 'quot autem saecula urbi Romae debeantur dicere meum non est; sed quid apud Varronem legerim non tacebo, qui libro antiquitatum duodeuicensimo ait fuisse Vettium Romae in augurio non ignobilem, ingenio magno, cuiuis doctori in disceptando parem: eum se audisse dicentem, si ita esset ut traderent

historici de Romuli urbis condendae auguriis ac xii uulturiis, quoniam cxx annos incolumis praeteriisset populus Romanus, ad mille et ducentos peruenturum.' The assassination of Aetius by Valentinian in A.D. 454, when the 1200 years had just run out, is thus recorded by Apollinaris Sidonius *carm.* vii 357-9: 'iam prope fata tui bis senas uulturis alas | complebant (scis namque tuos, scis, Roma, labores): | Aetium Placidus mactauit semiuir amens.' What the bucolic poet says is therefore this: that Rome at the beginning of her eighth century believed her end to be at hand, and resigned all hope of seeing the centuries which were still wanting to make up the tale of twelve and fulfil the prophecy of the vultures. The augurs despaired less prematurely in A.D. 401 at the approach of Alaric: Claud. *bell. Poll.* 265 sq. 'tunc reputant annos, interceptoque uolatu | uulturis incidunt properatis saecula metis.'

A. E. Housman.

ARSENII VIOLETVM.

THIS medley of proverbs, stories, and sayings, put together by a fifteenth-century archbishop, was edited by Walz, then engaged on the *Rhetores Graeci*, in 1832. It has not appeared again since and, as far as I know, little attention has been paid to it, though in addition to much that is contained also in other books, the Paroemiographi, Stobaeus, Diogenes, etc., it has a good deal not to be found elsewhere. The text of these latter parts has been but little corrected, and that is why I am noticing it now. From the point of view of textual criticism the following notes, which I have made very brief, may present some interest, because they will show over again the working of certain almost uniform tendencies to error which beset Greek books. The cases in Arsenius are often unusually clear, and for that reason are worth pointing out. When a critic of Demosthenes or Plato assumes and proceeds upon one of these tendencies, the general reader doubts its existence.

There are eight or ten cases of the comparative adjective for the superlative, and one or two the other way. In the eight or ten I ascribe the fault to careless copying rather than change of idiom. My references are to the pages of Walz. *πρεσβύτερον* 100, *μακαριώτερον* 107, *βαρύτερον* 208, *χαλεπωτερα* 209, *ἐπισημότερος* 254, *χαλεπωτερός* 507, *πλουσιώτερος* 510. 189 should probably be *φαυλοτέραν τὴν ὑπόκρισιν παρεχόμενον*, not *φαυλοτάτην*. 502 the imperfect verse *ἔξω ὀργῆς πᾶς ἀνὴρ σοφώτατος* would be better with *σοφώτερος*, and 148 read *χρὴ πρότερον* (not *πρῶτον*) *αὐτὸν ἐμβλέψαντα* (*after looking at yourself*) *πράττειν* <*καὶ*> *εἰ κ.τ.λ.* 497 *οὐδὲν τῶν ἐν τῷ βίῳ τάχιστα γηράσκει ὡς χάρις*: read *τάχιον*. *ὡς*=*ἤ*, as elsewhere, if not a mistake for it. 149 *ποῖος τῶν θανάτων κακός* stands for *κάκιστος*.

Present tenses put wrongly for futures: 97 and 503 *καταλείπω . . . τέκνα* (Alexander is not dying), 127 *οὐδὲν ἀνδρείας χρῄζομεν, ἐὰν πάντες ὦμεν δίκαιοι*, 265 *ἐγώ μοι δοκῶ . . . γράφειν προτρεπτικόν*, 360 *ἐγώ σε τρέφω μαχούμενον ἀλλ' οὐ λοιδορούμενον* (*λοιδορησόμενον*, unless we are to read *μαχόμενον*) *Ἀλεξάνδρῳ*, 420 *παραμένοντας*, probably 481 *εἰ μὲν πονηρὰ πολιτεύηται* (*-εται*?), *τοῖς θεοῖς ἀπάρεσκει* (*ἀπαρέσει*?).

Small errors in case endings: 101 *τῶν θεῶν . . . τιμιώτατος*, not *τιμιώτατον*. 187 *τοσούτους . . . ἀπολώλεκεν ὅσους ἀρκεῖ* (read *ὅσοις ἄρκει* or *ἤρκει*) *τοὺς βαρβάρους νικᾶν ἅπαντας*. 148 *αὐτός* should be *αὐτόν* (*καταδικάζων*). 346 *ἂν ἐκλογισθῇ τῶν δραμάτων ἕκαστον ὅσον κατέστη*: read *ὅσου, what it cost.*

401 *Οἰνοπίδης εἶπε τὸν νοῦν παραίτιον δαίμονα· τοῖς μὲν πεπαιδευμένοις ἀγαθόν, τοῖς δὲ ἀπαιδεύτοις κακὸν εἶναι*: read *παραίτιον δαίμονα τοῖς μέν . . . ἀγαθῶν, τοῖς δὲ κακῶν εἶναι*. 460 read *σύντροφον ἀρρωστίαν*. 479 *πείρας δευτέρας* should be *πεῖραν, trial of a second wife*. 499 *ἡδονὴν οὐ πᾶσαν ἀλλὰ τὴν ἐπὶ τὸ καλὸν αἱρεῖσθαι δεῖ*: read *ἐπὶ τῷ καλῷ*, but *ibid. ὅσῳ μὲν ἐπὶ τῇ φύσει πάντες ἐσμὲν πλούσιοι, ὅσῳ δὲ κ.τ.λ.* should on the other hand be *ὅσον*. 501 *τῷ (τοῦ) λαμβάνειν <γὰρ>? πάντες ἠττῶνται βροτοί*. 503 *ἐάν . . . ἀμορφίαν (-ίᾳ) νοσῇ*. 505 *διὰ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς τούτου (τὸν ἄνδρα τοῦτον?) ἀπολλύμεθα*. 506 *ὅταν σαυτὸν ἀσθενέστερον θέλῃς γίγνεσθαι*: read *σαυτοῦ ἀσθενέστερος*. 508 *κατέγνω γὰρ τῶν πολλῶν ἀφιλίας (-ίαν)*. 511 *φίλων (φίλον) φιλάργυρον ἰδών*. Adjective stands for adverb in 124 *πρᾷος (πράως) καὶ μειδιῶν εἶπε* 108. *διδακτικὴν ἀπεδείκνυε τὴν ἀρετήν*: read *διδακτήν*.

Mistakes in forms of verbs: 112 *ὡς ὑπέρπολυ ᾔτημαι*: rather *ᾔτησαι you have asked*. 194 *φέρεσθαι δέ . . . δινουμένας καὶ οὕτω πάντα τὰ συγκρίνοντα γεννᾶν, πῦρ, ὕδωρ κ.τ.λ.*: read *συγκρινόμενα*. 294 *ἀπολοίμεθ' ἄν* should be *ἀπωλόμεθ' ἄν*, as in Plutarch. 307 *διττοὺς ᾔτησε μισθούς· τοῦ δὲ τὴν αἰτίαν πυθομένου, ἕνα μέν, ἔφη, ἵνα λαλεῖν μάθῃς, τὸν ἕτερον <δὲ> ἵνα σιγᾷς*: read *σιγᾶν*. 454 *ἔλεγεν οὖν ὁ Τιμόθεος, ὁ τηλικαύτας πόλεις λαμβάνων καθεύδων, τί με οἴεσθε ποιήσειν ἐγρηγορότα*; read *εἰ* (for *ὁ*) and *λαμβάνω*.

Confusions of similar words: 108 *ἀπεδείκνυε τοὺς αὐτοὺς εὐγενεῖς τοὺς καὶ ἐναρέτους*; *τούς* should be *οὕς*. 110 *ἅρπαζε τὸ καλῶς ἀποθνῄσκειν, ὅτε ἔξεστι, μὴ κατὰ μικρὸν τὸ μὲν ἀποθνῄσκειν σοι παρῇ, τὸ δὲ καλῶς μηκέτι ἐξῇ*: read *μετὰ μικρόν, soon*. 118 *εἰπόντος (having asked) ἢ οὐ δοκεῖ αὐτῷ κ.τ.λ., ἤ* is *εἰ*. So in 203 *τί γὰρ, εἶπεν, ἢ ἀγαθὸν ἢ κακόν* we should read *τί γάρ, εἶπεν, εἶ ; ἀγαθὸν ἢ κακόν ;* 267 *δεῖν δὲ ἔλεγε τοὺς νέους πάσῃ κοσμιότητι χρῆσθαι καὶ πορείᾳ καὶ σχήματι καὶ περιβολῇ*: the first *καί* at least should be *κἀν* or *καὶ ἐν*. 265 *ἔλεγε μὴ δεῖν ζητεῖν . . . οἵτινες ἐκ μεγάλης πόλεώς εἰσιν, ἀλλ' εἰ μεγάλης πόλεως ἄξιοι*: for *οἵτινες* read *εἴ τινες*, like *εἰ* following. On p. 505 *εἰ* actually appears in the same saying. 296 *ἢ σύγκειται* should be *ᾗ*, and 299 read *δεῖται γὰρ οὐδενὸς (ὁ θεὸς) οὐδὲ παρὰ τῶν κρειττόνων ἥπερ* (not *ᾗπερ*) *ἡμεῖς*. 374 *Ξενοκράτης ἐρόμενος τὸν* (read *τινὰ*) *παρ' αὐτῷ φιλοσοφεῖν νέον βουλόμενον κ.τ.λ.* 438 *τὸ ἐμὸν ἱμάτιον ἐμβιῶναι μὲν* (not *ἐκβιῶναι*) *ἐπιτήδειον*. 455 *Χάρητα προσαγόντων καὶ τοῦτον* (not *τοιοῦτον*) *ἀξιούντων εἶναι τὸν Ἀθηναίων στρατηγόν*. 500 *ἐπενδύεσθαι (ὑπ-?) δεῖ τῷ μὲν θώρακι χιτῶνα, τῇ δὲ λύπῃ νοῦν*. 502 *ἡ δὲ* (not *γὰρ*) *κακὴ βουλὴ κ.τ.λ.* (verse). 503 *μητρὸς ἓν δάκρυον πολλὰς διαβολὰς ἐπιστολὰς ἀπαλείφει* only needs a change of accent to *διαβόλων*. 507 *ὁ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν στρατηγός* probably *Ἀθηναίων*. 508 *αὕτη* (not *αὐτὴ*) *τοῖς ἔργοις ἀναγκάζει*.

Confusions of a more noticeable kind: 98 Alexander *προσέτασσε τοῖς στρατιώταις ξυρεῖν τὰ τῶν Μακεδόνων γένεια*. As the soldiers were themselves Macedonians, read *στρατηγοῖς*. 99 *τὸν ποιητὴν οὕτω σεμνῦναι τὰ ζῷα καὶ πονῆσαι αὐτὰ τῷ Διὶ τὴν ἀμβροσίαν κομίζειν*: *πονῆσαι* should be *ποιῆσαι*. 122 *τοὺς τὰ ἐνεργῆ πράγματα πειρωμένους δεικνύναι* (lighting a candle to show the sun) should of course be *ἐναργῆ*. 176 *δαπανώμενος ἐφ' ἃ μὴ δεῖ, ὀλίγος ἔσῃ ἐφ' ἃ δεῖ*: *ὀλίγος* should be *λιτός*, as in 511 *διὰ τί λιτὸς εἶ ἔχων χρήματα πολλά*; and in

the lines of Moschion 363. 191 *οἱ ἀπαίδευτοι καθάπερ οἱ ἁλιευόμενοι ἰχθύες ἑλκόμενοι σιγῶσιν* shows the common confusion of *ἀ-* and *εὐ-* (*οἱ εὐπαίδευτοι*), and the same reversed occurs in 306 *πῶς ἄν τις εὐτυχίαν* (read *ἀτυχίαν*) *ἄριστα φέροι*. 193 *στάσις ἐμφύλιος εἰς ἑκάτερα καλόν· καὶ γὰρ νικέουσι καὶ ἡσσωμένοις ὁμοίη φθορά*: read *κακόν*: and again 497 *ἀνοήτων τὸ αἱρεῖσθαι κακῶς ἄρχεσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ κακῶς ἄρχειν* clearly from the context should be *καλῶς ἄρχειν*. 268 Zeno said that *τὸ καθῆκον* was *ἐνέργημα ταῖς κατὰ φύσιν παρασκευαῖς ὠκείαις*: I suppose *ὠκείαις* stands for *οἰκεῖον*. 295 an argument is introduced by the words *τὸ ἀκόλουθον οὕτως ἑώρα*, where *ἑώρα* represents a word for arguing common in post-classical Greek, *ἠρώτα*. It occurs again 296 and 298. 298 *σὺ μόνος* is evidently *οὐ μόνον*, and 329 *καὶ σύ γε* probably *μὴ σύγε*. The well-known confusion of *λέγω* and *ἔχω* appears in 369 *Νικοκλῆς κακοῦ τινος ἰατροῦ λέγοντος ὅτι μεγάλην ἔχει δύναμιν ἔφη 'πῶς γὰρ οὐ μέλλεις λέγειν (ἔχειν), ὃς τοσούτους ἀνῃρηκὼς ἀνεύθυνος γέγονας*; and in 422 *εἶπε πενίαν ἡγητέον εἶναι μὴ τὸ τὴν οὐσίαν ἐλάττω ποιεῖν ἀλλὰ τὸ τὴν ἀπληστίαν πλείω* probably *ποιεῖν* is a corruption of *εἶναι*, *ποι* being *τω* repeated. 346 *οὕτω γάρ* should be *αὐτὸς γάρ*. 426 *ῥεῖται γὰρ καὶ παρέχεται* (*παρέρχεται*) *ὡς χόρτος πᾶσα φύσις*. *ibid.* *ἀγνὸς δὲ ῥήτωρ εὔκρατος ἁρμονία*, though it may be right, looks like a pentameter (*εὔκροτος ἁρμονία*). In 498 are two rather puzzling sentences: *ὑπ' οὐδενὸς δοκήσει φιλεῖσθαί τις μηδένα φιλῶν*, where for *δοκήσει* the sense suggests *δίκαιός (ἐστι?)*, and *ἰατρὸν καὶ φίλον οὐ τὸν ἰδιώτην ἀλλὰ τὸν ὠφελιμώτερον δεῖ ἐκλέγεσθαι*, in which it seems probable that *ἰδιώτην* is a perversion of *ἡδίω*. 500 *εἰ, ὅτε οὐδέπω ἦν, οὐκ ἐλυποῦ, μηδὲ νοῦ* (only a misprint for *νῦν?*), *ὅτε οὐκ* (*οὐκέτι?*) *ἔστι, λυπηθῇς*. 507 *Μένανδρος τὸν φθόνον πρόνοιαν τῆς ψυχῆς εἶπεν* (Kock 935) Nauck proposed the insipid *πονηρίαν*, Kock *παράνοιαν*, which is not very pointed either. *ψυχή* and *τύχη* being constantly confused, I think Menander may have said that envy was *ἀπόνοια* (or *-γνοια*) *τῆς τύχης*, *despair of good luck*, i.e. arose from a man's despair of equalling what he envied. 506 Theocritus, being asked *τί θεῖον*, answered *τὸ μήτε ὀργὴν μήτε τελευτὴν ἔχον*: *ὀργήν* must be *ἀρχήν*. 511 *Φίλιππος τὸν πλούσιον καὶ ἀπαίδευτον ἔφησε πλοῦτος περιηργυρωμένος*. The last two words should of course be accusatives, but *πλοῦτος π.* is nonsense. Should we not read *πηλὸν περιηργυρωμένον*, understanding *πηλός* of the clay from which Prometheus made man?

Words omitted, sometimes from recurrence or partial recurrence of letters. 94 *εἰπόντος <ὡς>*. 109 *ἐκ πάντων <τῶν> Σωκρατικῶν*. 111 *περὶ πολιτικὰ διατρίβοντι 'εἴθε' ἔφη ἡ γυνὴ 'τὰ μὲν ἴδια κοινὰ ἐνόμισας, τὰ δὲ κοινὰ ἴδια.'* This is puzzling until we see that *μή* has been lost, probably after *νη* in *γυνή*. 112 Hunger and thirst are able *μεγάλως <ἐνοχλεῖν> τοῖς σωφροσύνην διώκουσι*. 148 *οὔτε γὰρ ζωγράφον <τὸν?> εὐχόμενον εἶναι*. 196 *ὁ αὐτὸς ἔλεγε πονηρίαν μὲν ἀρχομένην κωλῦσαι τάχ' ἄν τις κολάζων δυνηθείη, ἐγκαταγεγηρακυῖαν δὲ καὶ γεγενημένων* (or *-ην*) *τῶν εἰθισμένων τιμωριῶν ἀδύνατον εἶναι* [*ἔλεγεν*]. Read *καὶ <μείζω> γεγενημένην*. 294 *μήτ' ἐκεῖνον <ἂν> γενέσθαι κ.τ.λ.* 375 *ὁ αὐτὸς διαιρῶν <μέρος> ἕκαστον τῆς ἡμέρας εἰς πρᾶξίν τινα καὶ τῇ σιωπῇ μέρος ἀπένειμεν*. 420 *τούτους ἔφη <δεῖν> καθιστάναι ἄρχοντας* and *καὶ <γυναῖκα>*

καὶ ἄνδρα (probably only a printer's omission). 422 ἔφη πιόντα τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἵλεω <μᾶλλον> τότε ἢ πρότερον γενέσθαι (γίγνεσθαι?), and so too 508 τοῖς παισὶ συνεβούλευεν αἰδῶ καταλιπεῖν <μᾶλλον> ἢ χρυσόν, where παισί depends on καταλιπεῖν. 436 πρὸς τὸν εἰπόντα 'ἀποθανοῦμαι εἰ μή σε τιμωρησαίμην' ἔφη 'ἀποθανούμαι εἰ μή σε φίλον ποιήσω': the version of this on 500 shows conclusively that to each ἀμυνοῦμαι we must prefix οὐκ. 438 θαυμάζειν ἔλεγε τῶν τὰς λιθίνους εἰκόνας κατασκευαζομένων <τὸ> τοῦ μὲν λίθου προνοεῖν κ.τ.λ. 496 ἐν μὲν τῷ πολέμῳ πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν χρυσὸς <λογισμοῦ> κρείττων, ἐν δὲ τῷ ζῆν λογισμὸς πλούτου. 499 πάντα ἄλλα should be πάντα τἄλλα. 504 ὦ <νεανίσκε>, σπούδασον, and above ὁ αὐτὸς ἐρωτηθεὶς τί ἂν (?) εἴη ἄριστον ἐν τῷ βίῳ εἶπε συνείδησις <ἀρετῆς or ἀγαθή?> 505 οὐδὲ (οὔτε?) τὰ <τοῦ> Μήδου οὔτε τὰ Κροίσου χρήματα. 511 ἰδὼν νεανίαν <παιδείαν or γράμματα> φιλοῦντα ἔφη 'κάλλιστον ὄψον τῷ γήρατι ἀρτύεις.'

118 ἔχων τοὺς τῶν φευγόντων Περσῶν represents τοὺς φεύγοντας τῶν Περσῶν or possibly τ. τ. Π. φ. 124 εἶπεν ὅτι πλῷ ἔοικε τῷ παρὰ γῆν ὁ τῶν πενήτων βίος, ὁ δε τῶν πλουσίων τῷ διὰ πελάγους· τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ῥᾴδιόν ἐστι καὶ πεῖσμα βαλεῖν καὶ προσχεῖν (read προσσχεῖν) καὶ νεωλκῆσαι, τοῖς δ' οὐ. πενήτων and πλουσίων have clearly exchanged places. 95 ὁ μὲν γὰρ (his father Philip) τοῦ γενέσθαι, ὁ δὲ (his teacher Aristotle) τοῦ καλῶς γενέσθαι αἴτιος. The second γενέσθαι is certainly a mere blunder, due to the first, for ζῆν. Cf. 511 οἱ μὲν γονεῖς τοῦ ζῆν μόνον, οἱ δὲ διδάσκαλοι τοῦ καλῶς ζῆν αἴτιοι γεγόνασιν and the same in Plut. *Alex.* 8. 297 ἆρά γε, Θεόδωρε, θεὸς εἶναι φῄς, τοῦτο καὶ εἶ; ἐπινεύσαντος δε, φῄς δ' εἶναι θεός; . . . θεός εἶ ἄρα, ἔφη. The same story is in Diog. L., and there the second θεός has been duly corrected in modern times to θεόν. I quote the passage here, because the first θεός is a mere anticipation in writing of the second and third. The real word was ὃ or ὅτι (εἶναι φῄς), as the text of Diogenes shows. 466 οὐ μετ' οὐ πολύ is a jumble of μετ' οὐ πολύ (just below) and οὐ μετὰ πολύ. 500 σοφὸς οὐδεὶς πλὴν ὃν ἂν τιμήσῃ θεός is an unmistakable inversion of σοφὸς <γὰρ?> οὐδεὶς πλὴν ὅς ἂν τιμᾷ θεόν. Transposition will turn 497 οὐδεὶς ἐλεύθερος ὁ ἑαυτοῦ μὴ κρατῶν into another iambic, οὐδεὶς ἑαυτοῦ μὴ κρατῶν ἐλεύθερος, and 502 read οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδὲν κρεῖσσον οἰκείου φίλου for φίλου οἰκείου. Transposition is also needed 506 ὁ αὐτὸς ἐρωτηθεὶς τί ἐστι φίλος 'ἄλλος οἷος ἐγώ,' which should of course be οἷος ἄλλος ἐγώ.

I add one or two miscellaneous difficulties: 111 (Aristides) ἐμοὶ μὲν ἡ πενία οὐδὲν ἱστορήσει κακόν, σοὶ δὲ ὁ πλοῦτος ταραχὰς οὐκ ὀλίγας. Should ἱστορήσει be συνιστορεῖ? 211 Diogenes said ὅτι, ἂν μὲν κύνες αὐτὸν σπαράξωσιν, Τρκανία ἔσται ἡ ταφή· ἂν δὲ γῦπες, ἀπτέον· ἂν δὲ μηδεὶς προσέλθῃ, ὁ χρόνος καλλίων τῇ ταφῇ διὰ τῶν πολυτελεστάτων, ἡλίου καὶ ὄμβρου. There are several puzzles in this: all I have to suggest is that τῶν πολυτελεστάτων is τῶν πολὺ εὐτελεστάτων. 296 Theodorus the Cyrenaic held κλέψειν τε καὶ μοιχεύσειν καὶ ἱεροσυλήσειν (τοὺς σπουδαίους), μηδὲν τούτων φύσει αἰσχρὸν εἶναι τῆς ἐπ' αὐτῆς δόξης αἱρουμένους: this seems to conceal something like μηδὲν τούτων φύσει αἰσχρὸν εἶναι <ἄνευ? χωρὶς?> τῆς ἐπ' αὐτοῖς δόξης ἡγουμένους. 371 Νεο-

πτόλεμον τὸν τῆς τραγῳδίας ὑποκριτὴν ἤρετό τις τί θαυμάζοι τῶν ὑπ' Αἰσχύλου λεχθέντων ἢ Σοφοκλέους ἢ Εὐριπίδου· οὐδὲν μὲν τούτων, εἶπεν. This is of course pointless and incomplete or wrong. In these Greek anecdotes a question like 'what is most so and so?' occurs so constantly, as though people devoted themselves to giving an eminent man the opportunity of saying something quotable, that we ought probably to read τί θαυμάζοι <μάλιστα>, and to take it that the great actor answered in effect: 'I don't admire anything most: there are too many fine things in them all for that.' But I do not know what we are to do with οὐδὲν μὲν τούτων.

Owing to the nature of the compilation, I fear I may in places have been correcting what appears elsewhere and has been corrected already or in a better form needs no correction.

HERBERT RICHARDS.

WESSELY'S PALAEOGRAPHICAL STUDIES.[1]

Studien zur Palaeographie und Papyruskunde, VIII. *Griechische Papyrusurkunden kleineren Formats* [Theil II.]. Von Dr. C. Wessely. Leipzig: Eduard Avenarius. 4to. 1908. Pp. 137–307 (numbered consecutively with Part I.). M. 8.

THE usefulness of the valuable collection of Byzantine documents published by Wessely in 1904 under the above title has been seriously impaired by the want of an index, reserved for the second part; and all students of Byzantine papyri will welcome the appearance of this part. The volume contains exceedingly full indices (rather inconveniently arranged) of words, persons, places, symbols and abbreviations, and grammatical peculiarities; and there is in addition a numerical table of all the documents published in the collection. The series of texts is continued by 645 fresh documents. A good many of these are republished from other collections, but a considerable number are new, and those republished include many of the Paris papyri originally edited by Wessely in the *Wiener Denkschriften*, which are here given in much improved texts.

The whole collection is a storehouse of material for the organization of Egypt in Byzantine and early Arab times. Some of the smaller fragments, it is true, seem too unimportant to be worth publishing; but even mere scraps occasionally furnish interesting words or phrases. The volume, like the previous one, is lithographed, a method which permits abbreviations, symbols, and the many examples of shorthand which occur in these documents to be given in a form more faithful to the MSS. Thus it possesses a great educative value. The autotype method also makes it possible to give illegible words or phrases in facsimile. In cases where the papyrus is not much damaged this is sometimes very useful; but when the traces are only slight it may be doubted whether the pains taken justify themselves. It is almost impossible, for example, to make anything of such reproductions as 825, l. 3 or 828, l. 5, and in many cases it seems doubtful whether the facsimiles really give a correct representation of the appearance of the original. Thus in 1345, l. 5 a comparison of Wessely's facsimile with the photograph in Moritz's *Arabic*

[1] It should perhaps be mentioned that this notice was written before the appearance of Wilcken's review in *Archiv für Papyrusforschung*, V. 290 ff.

Palaeography will show how entirely the former misrepresents the impression given by the papyrus itself.

The volume is full of interesting points, and there are not a few difficulties which Wessely has been compelled to leave unsolved. The following notes and suggested emendations are the result of a somewhat hasty reading of the collection:

702, l. 2. W(essely) Κουτιλλα Γ$^{\epsilon}$( ) νεοτ$^{\epsilon}$( ). It is to be noticed that this is a payment for διαγραφή. It is, I think, almost certain that διαγραφή is poll-tax (for the proof of this I must refer to the forthcoming vol. iv. of the British Museum *Catalogue of Greek Papyri*), and it is therefore noteworthy that the payment is made by a woman, since women did not pay poll-tax. Women several times (656, 697, 700, 742) occur as paying διαγραφή, but are always in such cases described as wife (γαμετή) of someone; presumably the payments were made on behalf of their husbands (cf. especially 656, where the tax-payment is from the wife of Lôlipisôei, a man who appears in a number of receipts as paying διαγραφή). I therefore conjecture Κούτιλλα γα(μετὴ) Νεοτ$^{\epsilon}$( ). It must be confessed however that Νεοτ$^{\epsilon}$( ) is a curious personal name.

718, l. 2. *l.* δτ/(= διὰ τῶν)? and (ὑπὲρ) λόγου χρεία(ς).

723, l. 1. ωρβοπολε$^{\omega}$: ὀροβοπώλου, as apparently W. takes it (see index). The same word, as ορβιοπο$^{\lambda}$ or ορβιουπο$^{\lambda}$ (from the diminutive of ὄροβος), occurs in the Aphrodito Papyri.

733, l. 3. W. gives in the index ὀροβοκαπηλείας, but the facsimile in the text seems to read ορδεοκπ$^{\lambda}$. Perhaps ὀρδεο- = the Lat. *hordeum*?

769, l. 3. (ὑπὲρ) σί(του) (ἀρταβῶν) νθ δ′ τοῦ ι. This phrase finds many analogies in the Aphrodito Papyri. τοῦ ι stands for τοῦ νομίσματος ἀρτάβαι ι, i.e. 'at 1 *solidus* per 10 artabae.'

837, l. 2. W. explains the symbol as μέτρα. It is probably ξέσται (a ξ with a stroke through it); so in the Aphrodito Papyri, and cf. this collection, 912, 2.

878, l. 1. Perhaps πακτ<ω>νοπρατῶν, a word which occurs in the Aphrodito Papyri, referring to the guild of sellers of πακτῶνες.

898, l. 2. W. κ(α)τ(ὰ) απαξ/(?) Perhaps rather κ(α)τ(ὰ) (δευτέραν) τάξ(ιν).

901, l. 1. καλαφ$^{\tau}$/: this word, which occurs also in several of the following papyri, is καλαφάταις, *caulkers;* cf. Becker, *Arab. Papyri des Aphroditofundes* in *Zeitsch. f. Assyr.* xx. p. 87.

913, l. 2. W. μι[σθ(οῦ). This seems impossible from the facsimile. Qu. στάβλ(ου)?

915, l. 1. *l.* π[α]λλι[καρίῳ. The word means a page, attendant. In one of the Aphrodito Papyri occurs a Σισσίνιο[ς παλλικ(άριον)?] τοῦ συμβούλου (i.e. 'page of the Governor'). Probably this is the same person, and we may read in 915, ll. 1, 2 π[α]λλι[καρίῳ τοῦ] | [συμβουλο]ῦ. This gives an approximate date for all this series of documents addressed to Cyricus, i.e. the end of the seventh or beginning of the eighth century. The occurrence in 945 of Χονεεις Σαρακηνός indicates that they are of the Arab period.

922, ll. 1–2. W. δερμτ *F* βαχθεντ. *l.* probably δερμ(ά)τ(ων) *F* β/(=6⅔) ἀχθέντ(ων).

952, l. 2. The abbreviation after σταβλίτ(η) is probably $\frac{\lambda}{\gamma}$=λόγῳ. The use of ἀλλαγή as 'posting-station' finds parallels in the Aphrodito Papyri.

978, l. 2. *l.* probably ὀν(όμασιν) δέκα. This page and the preceding one are given in wrong order.

992, l. 2. W. Σακκελλάριος. It seems more likely that this is a common noun = σακελλάριος. σάκελλα is regularly used in the Aphrodito Papyri for the central treasury at Babylon—Fusṭāṭ. σακελλάριος will be an official of the treasury. After ὑμῖν *l.* τοῖς]. The document is an order for payment of taxes.

993, l. 2. Σύμμαχος: perhaps this too should be taken as a common noun in the usual sense (at this time) of 'letter-carrier.'

1051, l. 3. παράσχ(ου) τοῖς κουρσ( ): I suggest κουρσαρίοις, 'corsairs.' κοῦρσον, Lat. *cursus*, in the sense of the annual raids of the Arabs against the Empire, is regularly used in the Aphrodito Papyri, and in one place προκουρσάριοι occurs, in the sense, apparently, of 'corsairs.'

1082, l. 3, end. *l.* $\frac{\lambda}{\gamma}$=λόγῳ.

1083, l. 4. *l.* probably λόγῳ (*not* λόγος as W.) τ(ῶν) ὁρρ(ίων) [Βα]βυ(λῶνος) ἀρτ(άβαι) κ.τ.λ.

1084, l. 1. It seems natural to suppose that τοῖς has been omitted before ἀπὸ λαύρας, though ἡμῶν (l. 3), if not for ὑμῶν, suggests that this is a declaration by the tax-payer. In that case [παρ]άσχε(ς) is perhaps wrong. In 1180 also ἀπὸ λαύρας occurs not preceded by τοῖς. l. 2. *l.* (ὑπὲρ) (τετάρτου) ἐξαγί(ου) δημ(οσίων). ἐξάγιον, occurs frequently in the Aphrodito Collection and in Coptic papyri as 'collection.' [On this word compare Dr. Postgate in *Am. J. Phil.* VI. 462 ff.]

1085, l. 3. Qu. *l.* γρ(αφέντος) Μ[. . ., ἐνεχθ(έντος)] δ/(=διὰ) ['Αβ]δερ(αμαν)?

1086, l. 2. Qu. *l.* κα]τοβλ, sc. κατ<α>βολῆς? This mis-spelling occurs once or twice in the Aphrodito Papyri.

1180. This is an interesting document, as it evidently concerns fugitives who had fled from their own district and had been allowed to settle at Heracleopolis; cf. *Journ. of Hell. Stud.* xxviii. p. 107 ff.; Becker, *Zeitsch. f. Assyr.* xxii. p. 139 ff. The extension of the abbreviations, if the readings are right, would appear to be ἔλαχέν σοι (ὑπὲρ) μέ(ρους) διαγρ(αφῆς) τῶ(ν) ἐαθέ(ντων) ξέ(νων) εἰ(ς) τ(ὴν) πόλ(ιν) ὡρισθ(έντος) αὐτ(οῖς) διαγρ(άφειν) ἀντ(ὶ) κ(α)τ(α)β(ο)λ(ῆς) (ὑπὲρ) τ(ῶν) αὐτ(ῶν) ξέ(νων) (ὑπὲρ) δημ(οσίων) τ[ῆ(ς)] πόλ(εως). The sense seems to be that the tax-payer addressed is to pay part of the διαγραφή (poll-tax) for the new-comers, 'they having been ordered to pay poll-tax (perhaps ὡρισθείσης αὐτοῖς διαγραφῆς) instead of the payment for the said strangers for the δημόσια of the city'; but the bearing of this last clause is obscure to me, unless δημόσια is used, as sometimes, for 'land-tax.' The mention of ξένοι makes it likely that the document may belong to the Arab period.

1286, part 2, l. 2. *l.* (*ὑπὲρ*) *τ*(*ῶν*) *Μωαγαρ*(*ι*)*τ*(*ῶν*). The word is the Arabic *Muhājirūn*, i.e. Arab settlers in Egypt; cf. *Journ. of Hell. Stud.* xxviii. p. 113. This proves that W.'s date (sixth to seventh century) is too early. The document must be as late as 640 at the earliest.

1345, l. 5. The facsimile here, as already remarked, is very misleading. A reading of the line from the photograph in Moritz's *Arabic Palaeography* has been already suggested by the present writer (*Journ. of Hell. Stud.* xxviii. p. 98, note), viz. *Φαῶφ*(*ι*) . *ἰνδ*(*ικτιόν*)*ο*(*ς*) *ε*.

H. I. Bell.

MR. T. W. ALLEN ON AGAR'S *HOMERICA*.

I FEEL reluctantly compelled to set right one or two points of moment in which Mr. Allen, in his very interesting and able criticism of *Homerica* in the July number of the *Classical Quarterly*, has fallen into error. I have no wish to refute or dispute any opinions he has chosen to express—that would, perhaps, be a little severe on a reviewer who cannot, under the circumstances, do more than communicate his first impressions—but I certainly think I may fairly ask to be permitted to correct absolute misrepresentations, however innocently made, of my own statements. They are eight in number. I rigidly confine myself to them, and simply follow the order in which they occur in the *Classical Quarterly*.

(i.) On ι 209 I am credited with saying without qualification that ὕδατος ἀνὰ εἴκοσι μέτρα has 'no suitable sense at all.' Now, I am bound to say this is not my statement by any means. Mr. Allen has, I am afraid, misunderstood no less than a whole paragraph of *Homerica*. I said, 'this view'—the view that δέπας is the object after χεῦε—'leaves ἀνὰ εἴκοσι μέτρα without any suitable sense at all.' There is, I submit, a very important difference—a vital difference—between what I really said and what has been attributed to me by Mr. Allen.

(ii.) On η 130 Mr. Allen remarks that I have an odd idea of Alcinous's water-supply. 'A piece of ornamental water must have decorated the yard.' In these words I am supposed to express the view I take, and the comment upon them is: 'What a sight!' Well, will it be believed that I explicitly denied the ornamental water explanation, and argued that it was inadmissible? Curiously enough, Mr. Allen himself is willing to posit an artificial tank, so that apparently what he objects to is the ornamentation. I might consistently object to both.

(iii.) ι 30. Mr. Allen writes: 'This verse is absent in most MSS. Mr. Agar condemns it, but, unable to do without it, composes another in its place.' I am more than surprised to hear this. What can Mr. Allen mean? The statement is quite inexcusable and unaccountable, unless he is crediting me with the authorship of

οὔτε σὺν πανωλέθροισιν οὔτ' ἄνευ πανωλέθρων.

I may as well confess I borrowed this from Aristophanes, and never contemplated the possibility of its being hastily taken for a hexameter of my own composition.

(iv.) λ 600. Here again, as in (ii.), while declining any direct responsibility for the usual interpretation of this passage, I must point out that my objection is taken primarily against *κονίη*, and not against *ἐκ κρατός*; Mr. Allen offers an entirely new explanation of his own, never before heard of, that *κονίη* means a 'column of steam,' and the impression is left that I ought to have known and acquiesced in this very odd and rather improbable idea.

(v.) σ 158. In dealing with this passage, Mr. Allen entirely ignores what I have said on the question, possibly from a desire to be brief. To state that a verb, *πετάσειε*, means to 'excite,' 'stimulate,' and then that *θέλξειε* gives this sense, is merely to make confusion worse confounded. Every tiro knows that *θέλγω* means 'to put an end to excitement,' 'to soothe,' and not 'to stimulate.'

(vi.) Mr. Allen says my remark on δ 93, 'smirking hypocrisy,' betrays a fundamental misapprehension of heroic character. One would hardly suppose from this that I had questioned the genuineness of δ 93 on the ground of its smirking hypocrisy. Surely Mr. Allen does not think that smirking hypocrisy is a feature of heroic character? I emphatically do not, and should fancy there is no difference of opinion between us.

(vii.) ζ 273. Here again, on the subject of Greek punctuation, it seems to me that we are in substantial agreement, and Mr. Allen assails me only because he has failed to grasp with accuracy the substance of my statements. He certainly seems to have quite overlooked the words quoted from Nitzsch: 'Der Satz *μάλα* bis *δῆμον* bildet keine Parenthese.'

(viii.), and last. I am rather severely taken to task, admonished, and lectured, or, as he himself puts it, he is 'dumb' at some length, because of a quite reasonable comment of mine on Fick's remark on *κάλλεϊ* (σ 192), 'mirum unguentum.' I said, not an unguent, but rather a sort of modern toilet-soap, because *καθαίρειν* describes a process of washing and cleansing rather than that of the subsequent anointing. At the moment I was pointing out, as anyone may see, the difficulties of the passage, not solving them. The word 'modern' itself should have sufficed, one would think, to save Mr. Allen from this error. His lash in this case also, as in (ii.) and (iv.), falls upon other shoulders than mine. He will learn, I am sure, not without a touch of pious horror, that his lamented coadjutor, the late Provost of Oriel himself, wrote the following note upon this very passage in his edition of *Od.* xiii.–xxiv.: '*κάλλεϊ ἀμβροσίῳ* appears to be used in a concrete sense for some kind of paint or ointment.' Did Dr. Monro also, as well as myself, misunderstand 'lauabo manus meas in innocentia'? I think not.

T. L. AGAR.

January, 1910.

SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS.

GENERAL.

Mnemosyne. 37. 2. 1909.

A. Poutsma, *De emphasi disputatio.* The MSS. are our best, though not an infallible guide in deciding whether an enclitic pronoun can stand in what we regard as an emphatic sense. Passages like Soph. *O.R.* 140, 405; Eur. *Tro.* 945, etc., etc., show how different Greek feeling was from ours in this matter. N. J. Krom, *De Hellenotamiis in libro de rep. Athen. commemoratis.* In Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 12. 24 explains τοὺς δ' ἑλληνοταμίας οἱ ἂν διαχειρίζωσι τὰ χρήματα μὴ συμβουλεύειν by supposing that when a sum of money had to be paid the duty of paying it was assigned to particular members of the Board, and that these members, so long as they were engaged in this task, did not attend the Senate. J. J. H., *Ad Plutarchum.* In ps. Plut. *de Lib. educ.* 8 read παραινέσεσι καὶ ψόγοις (for λόγοις), 13 A ἀντὶ δὲ συμβουλευμάτων for τῶν δὲ συμβ. J. van Leeuwen, *Ad fragmentum comicum nuper editum.* Oxyrh. Pap. vi. p. 150. In l. 16 *sqq.* read εἰδέ τις τὴν τῶν φρενῶν | στακτήν; ἐκνίσθης; 'Excidit Dauo perterrito metus indicium apertissimum, ut . . . Dionyso apud inferos iter facienti.' v. L., Σκολιὸ—Δυσκολία. In Aristoph. cod. V (excerpta de comoedia) read ἐπὶ τοῖς οὖν οὐκ ἐπισταμένοις μέλη πρὸς λύραν ᾄδειν <δυ>σκολία <εἶναι> ἐδόκει, ὅθεν καὶ σκολία ὠνομάσθησαν. Ch. Charitonides, *De Figura quae κατ' ἐξοχὴν uocatur.* Copious exx. of (1) ὁ ποιητής = Homer; (2) ὁ κωμικός = Aristoph.; (3) ὁ συγγραφεύς = Thuc.; (4) ὁ φιλόσοφος = Plato; (5) ὁ ῥήτωρ = Demosthenes; (6) ὁ τραγικός = Sophocles; (7) ὁ λυρικὸς καὶ ὁ μελοποιός = Pindar; (8) ὁ γεωγράφος = Strabo; (9) ὁ τεχνικός = Herodian; (10) ὁ θεολόγος = Gregory of Nazianzus; (11) ἡ θεός and (12) Παρθένος = Athene; (13) ὁ νεώς = the Parthenon; (14) ἡ κόρη = Persephone; (15) βασιλεύς; (16) Πόντος, Χερσόνησος; (17) Πύλαι = Thermopylae; (18) νῆσος = Ortygia; (19) ὄψον = ἰχθύς; (20) ὄρνις = cock; (21) πρόβατον = οἷς. J. J. H., *Ad Plutarchum. Quom. Adol.* 24 E ἀνθρώπου for αὐτοῦ, 33 C ἐπὶ τῷ for ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ. H. van Herwerden, *Nouae curae criticae Moralium Plutarchi.* Emendations. H. v. H. *Emendatur Cicero pro Caeli* § 27. Read <*uix*> *ignoscebam.* J. v. Leeuwen, *Homerica.* Takes ἄβρομοι ἀFίFαχοι in N 41 as = *taciti*, which suits the comparison with θύελλα: it is the calm before the storm. J. J. H., *Ad Plutarchi libellum quomodo adulator*, etc. Emendations. J. van Leeuwen, *Ad Menandri fragmenta noua.* Arrangement of the dialogue in Körte's two new fragments of the Perikeiromene. J. J. H., *Ad Plutarchum.* In *Quom. Adul.* 34 E read καὶ νὴ Δία 'τῷ λέγειν ἐφεξῆς ἄριστε.'

37. 3. 1909.

C. Charitonides, *De figura quae κατ' ἐξοχὴν uocatur* (ctd. from part 2) Θήρ = lion, πηρός = blind, ἔπος = (dactylic) verse, ὥρα ἔτους = summer, μαθήματα = arithmetic and geometry, etc. J. J. H., *Ad Plutarchum.* In *Quom. adul.*, etc., 71D read ὤφειλεν for ὀφείλομεν. J. C. Naber, *Obseruatt. de iure Romano.* C. Quid proprie in iudicium deducatur. J. J. H., *Ad Plutarchum.* In *Quom. adul.*, etc., 63D read καταλυσάμενος for διαλυσάμενος, 68B transpose so as to read αἰτίαν λοιδορίας ὥσπερ σόφισμα φιλίας. H. van Herwerden, *Ad Dionem Prusaeensem.* Conjj. on *Orr.* 1, 3-7, 11-13, 16, 21, 26,

29, 31-38, 40, 41, 43, 48, 49, 52, 56, 63, 64, 66, 68, 73, 74. J. J. H., *Ad Plutarchum.* In *Praec. reip. ger.* 816E τὸν φθόνον is not wanted; in *Rect. rat. aud.* 38E read, for ὑπολειμμάτων, λεμμάτων. J. Vürtheim, *Catulli Carm.* 25. 5. Read *cum Diua Mulier alites ostendit oscitantes*: crows were a sign of storm and rain (Lucr. 5, 1083 *sqq.*), D. M. is the *Diua Cornisca* of C. I. L. 1. 814. P. H. Damsté, *Notulae criticae ad Sil. Ital.* 1. 71 *laudum* (for *tandem*) with *ortus*, 113 *his arsit stimulis*, 126 *flagrantis sanguine* to be defended by *Aen.* 12. 35, 148 put stop after *feritas*, 209-210 to follow 197, 574 *atque* (for *ast*: but 2. 134 *ast* for *atque*); 2. 259 *obstantis* (for *optantis*), 460 *lintea* (*litora*), 678 *telum* (*letum*); 3. 161 *uis dura laboris* (for *labori*) = strenua ac peruicax operandi uoluntas, 230 *traductum* (*tam dirum*), 283 *manus* (*domus*), 515 *terras* (*turmas*), 634 *timet* (*tenet*); 4. 5 *capit* or *rapit* (*canit*), 188 *Clanio dubia meditatur cuspide uulnus* (with *inuadit* CLANIUM in 252), 340 *harenis* (*habenis*), 502 *in arma* (*in armis*), 620 *arta* (*atra*) and other emendations. H. van Herwerden, *Ad Zosimi Hist. nouam.* Emendations on Bks. 1-5. J. J. H., *Ad Plutarchum.* In *Quom. adul.*, etc. 68D read τῷ for καί, ἀπαρρησίαστον εἶναι for ἀπαρρησιάστου, in 72B ἄλλως for ἁπλῶς.

37. 4. 1909.

I. M. J. Valeton, *Quaestt. Graecae.* (Contd. from part 1) 4. Harmodius and Aristogiton: (*a*) their statues (return of them to Athens, statues now extant, the site of the orchestra, date of the decree), with excursus on the Pisistratid stele; (*b*) their tomb (tombs of those who fell in war, public festivals of the dead), with excursus on the day of the public funeral of those who fell in war. The blood sacrifice offered the heroes was instituted in quite early times, and did not then imply that they were heroes, not ordinary mortals. T. C. Naber, *Obseruatt. de iure Romano.* CI. *Quando ex usu recesserit rei in iudicium deductae clausula.* J. V., *Oscen-oscitare.* The two words connected—'oscen coruus est quia oscitando mala portendit'—they suggest an old word †oscio = *os late diducere.* I. C. Vollgraff, *Coniectanea in Platonis Phaedrum.* Pp. 227D-277A. J. J. H., *Ad Plutarchum.* In *Rect. rat. aud.* 42A κηφήνων βοτάνην σοφιστιώντων comes from a comic writer, in 43E read, for καί, ὡς καί, and for προσανακρίνοντας, προσανακρινοῦντας (προσιόντας is future). J. van Wageningen, *Ad Panegyricos Latinos.* 2. 1 *hospitem consecrasse* (for †*hospite*† *condidisse*), *ib.* 6 *cuncta* (*coniuncta*); 4. 5 *litteratorum* (*litterarum*); 7. 11 *tuto* (*toto*), *ib. sine fine* <*poena*> *documento*, 12, *effecisti* (*fecisti*); 11. 20 *errones* (*ternos*); 12. 33 *militibusque* (*motibusque*).

Neue Jahrbücher für das klass. Altertum. 23. 4. 1909.

F. Noack, *Das Gewandproblem in der griech. Kunstentwicklung.* The development of the draped figure due to the desire to find an equivalent for the great advantages which the right to represent the male figure absolutely nude involved. T. Ashley, *Die antiken Wasserleitungen der Stadt Rom.* Mainly concerning the course of the Anio Vetus, Aqua Marcia, Aqua Claudia, and Anio Novus (with several plates). E. Stemplinger, *Lessings 'Rettungen des Horaz.'* Views held as to Horace's character in L.'s time; L.'s taste for the Latin poet; his defence of him against charges of immorality, cowardice, and lack of religion. The work involves an analysis of the laws of lyric poetry and the justification of the despised calling of the poets. M. Schneidewin, *E. V. Hartmanns Naturphilosophie. Anzeigen und Mitteilungen*: J. Moeller, *Agamemnons Einzug bei Aeschylus in der neueren Literatur.* Influence upon Goethe (*Faust*, ii. 9342 *sqq.*), Zola (*Argent*, 9 *ad fin.*), and Schiller (*Gesch. des dreissigjährigen Krieges*, Ed. 1).

[24. 4. R. Methner, *Der Konjunktiv in den Konsecutivsätzen mit Ut.*]

23. 5. 1909.

Th. Pluss, *Einheiten und Persönlichkeit im Homer.* Homer's poetic personality to be found in the subjective character of the style and the unity of the ideas and

feelings. E. Wilisch, *Der Kampf um das Schlachtfeld im Teutoburger Walde.* Summary (with maps) of the theories as to the site. J. Strzygowski, *Antike, Islam und Occident.* Refutes Thiersch's derivation of the minaret and Gothic steeple from the Pharos of Alexandria. E. Weber, *Carl Otfried Müller nach den Briefen, etc. Anzeigen und Mitteilungen*: J. Steinberger, *Die Marsyas-Gruppe des Myron.* Rejects Sauer's reconstruction (as given in *Jahrb. des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*, 1908, 3); Ritter's *Platons Dialoge. Inhaltsdarstellungen* II. 1. *Der Staat*, favourably noticed by W. Nestle; *Die Arbeiten zu Pergamon*, 1906-1907 (Athens, 1908), summarized by H. Lamer.

23. 6. 1909.

O. Stählin, *Editionstechnik.* Elaborate suggestions as to the manner in which critical texts of ancient literature should be edited—*e.g.*, use of symbols in text, punctuation, use of the margins, indices. F. Marx, *Die Beziehungen des Altlateins zum Spätlatein.* Evidence of modern languages, especially Spanish (*demas* = *de magis* of Lucil. 529, *hablar* = *fabulari*, *preguntar* = *percontari*). Festus' explanation of *atta* = *pater* confirmed by its use in this sense in Latin of the 9th century; the Pompeian form *opscultat* (for *auscultat*) found in a monastic *regula* of the 6th century; *campsare* in Ennius and the *Peregr. Siluiae.* Vitruvius' use of gen. for abl. (even in absolute construction) perhaps explains *aeris confessi rebusque indicatis* in the Twelve Tables. R. M. Meyer, *Die Poesie unter den bildenden Künsten. Anzeigen*, etc.: H. Blümner, *Kriterien zur Zeitbestimmung griechischer Skulpturen.* Brief summary of investigations as to treatment of eye and space between breasts.

23. 7. 1909.

F. Koepp, *Drei Probleme der griech. Künstlergeschichte.* (1) Amelung's identification of the original of the Ambelokipi relief with the Lemnian Athena, though not certain, is preferable to Furtwängler's well-known theory; (2) accepts Svoronos' identification of the Delphic charioteer with the Cyrene offering of Pausanias x. 15. 6; (3) is not convinced by Gardner's arguments against Lysippean authorship of the Apoxyomenos. R. Philippson, *Polystratos' Schrift Ueber die grundlose Verachtung der Volksmeinung.* Analysis. The opponents mentioned in it are the Cynics and, especially, contemporaries of Cynic tendency like Bion and Teles. The Plutarchean Gryllos reads like a satiric answer. A. Döring, '*Freiheit, die ich meine.*' *Anzeigen*, etc.: O. Immisch's *Wie studiert man klassische Philologie?* noticed by H. Peter, Rice Holmes' *Ancient Britain and the Invasions of Julius Caesar* very favourably reviewed by W. Schott: 'stimulating and instructive . . . fully equal, indeed superior, to its predecessor (the Conquest of Gaul).'

23. 8. 1909.

H. Lattmann, *Konjunktiv und Optativ.* Directed against Mutzbauer's '*Grundbedeutung des K. und O. . . . im Griechischen.*' Does not think M.'s examples *prove* that the subj. denotes expectation rather than potentiality (the case being especially weak when μή accompanies it), or that the opt. is the mood of wish (even in dep. clauses after a past tense?) E. Bruhn, *Der Monolog im antiken Drama.* Summary of Leo's results in his essay with this title in *Abhandl. der Kgl. Gesellsch. der Wiss. zu Göttingen, Ph.-Hist. Klasse, N. F.* 10 5. F. Marx, *Die Entwicklung des röm. Hauses.* The Roman house, with *atrium* and peristyle, is clearly, like Roman culture, a combination of Etruscan and Greek influences. This double form came probably from Campania: by 160 B.C. the peristyle was a common feature, and is denoted in Roman writers by the phrases *pars interior* (*domus*) or the like. A. Klotz, *Die Schlacht von Munda.* Three accounts from eye-witnesses (Asinius Pollio = Plut.-App.; Hirtius = Livy; auctor Belli Hispaniensis) enable us to get a good idea of the battle. Labienus had to withdraw infantry from the fighting-line to meet the movement of Bogud's cavalry

towards his camp. B. Baumgarten, *Goethe über das Deutsche als Sprache der Weltliteratur. Anzeigen, etc.*: *Altorientalische Texte und Bilder zum Alten Testamente. I. Band: Texte*, very favourably noticed by R. Stübe; E. Szanto, *Ausgewählte Abhandlungen*, described by F. Poland; S. Eitrem's *Hermes und die Toten*, reviewed by E. Samter, who rejects his theory that H. is a god of the dead, but regards the book as very valuable for all who are concerned with Greek religion; W. Amelung's *Die Sculpturen des Vat. Mus., Text* (2 vols.), *Tafeln* (2 vols.), favourably noticed by F. Koepp; P. R. Bienkowski's *Die Darstellungen der Gallier in der hellenist. Kunst*, favourably noticed by G. Weicker.

[24. 8. F. Schemmel, *Die Hochschule von Alexandria im IV und V Jahrhundert p. Ch. n.*]

23. 9. 1909

E. Pfuhl, *Die Wurzeln der hellenist. Kunst.* Description of its leading characterstics and discussion as to how far these appear in the prehistoric and archaic period, and the brilliant periods of the 5th and 4th centuries. T. Eisele, *Die phrygischen Kulte und ihr Bedeutung für die griechisch-römische Welt.* Totemistic and fetish stages; the great Mother, Attis, Sabazios, Men. Comparative failure of cult in Greece until the Alexandrian period; combination of κύριος Σαβάζιος and κύριος Σαβαώθ by Jewish colonists about 200 B.C.; success of the cult at home only one aspect of the general influence of the East upon the West. Description of the spring Attis festival. W. Sternkopf, *Cäsars gallischer Feldzug in Ciceros Briefen.* Various dates can be fixed, but it is almost impossible to adjust them to post-Julian calendar. *Hibernam legionem* in Att. 4. 19. 2 = 'a garrison command.' P. Simon, *Schiller's Gedicht 'Der Tanz.' Anzeigen, etc.*: A. Schaer's *Die dramatischen Bearbeitungen der Pyramus-Thisbe-Sage in Deutschland im XVI und XVII Jahrhundert*, reviewed by E. Stemplinger: 'a substantial contribution to the literature on Ovid's influence on later ages.'

[24. 9. F. Friedrich, *Ostwalds Angriff auf die human. Schule.* O. Stange, *Grenzen und Ziele des Lateinunterrichts im Realgymnasium.*]

23. 10. 1909.

F. Winter, *Parallelerscheinungen in der griech. Dichtkunst und bildenden Kunst.* The twofold nature of the Homeric simile, according as it describes nature with force and liveliness, or in general terms, corresponds to the difference in the treatment of nature in Creto-Mycenaean and early archaic Art. This points in favour of Reichel rather than v. Wilamowitz. Lyric poetry corresponds to the archaic period of Art; Pindar to the sculpture of the Zeus temple at Olymyia. (The 9th and 4th Pythians minutely examined from this point of view.) Aeschylus' *Choephoroe* and the *Electras* of Sophocles and Euripides. The composition of the Sophoclean play suggests the principles of the Parthenon sculptures; the introduction of the second sister is a 'Schönheitsmotiv' similar to those we find in them or contemporary work. Euripides' character-drawing reminds us of the 'bourgeoise' Athena statue of the Pergamum library, his later tendency to depict mental agony of the sculpture of the 4th century. P. E. Sonnenburg, *Zur Würdigung des Apollonios von Rhodos.* Account of the more attractive and interesting features of the *Argonautica.* J. Freudenthal, *Lorenzo Valle als Philosoph.* Relations to Aristotle, Plato, Epicurus, etc. *Anzeigen und Mitteilungen:* T. Schmid, *Zur Chronologie des Protogenes.* Born about 360, came about 335 to Athens, where he painted the portrait of Aristotle's mother (335-330), 'Paralus and Hammonias,' and 'The Thesmothetae' (330-325). The portrait of Antigonus belongs to 315-310, the 'Ialysus' was earlier than 305. The visit from Apelles perhaps 335; A. Mayr's *Die Insel Malta im Altertum*, favourably noticed by O. Meltzer.

Rheinisches Museum. 64. 2. 1909.

H. van Herwerden, *Spicilegium Dioneum.* Critical notes to Dio Cassius. O. Gilbert. *Ionier und Eleaten.* The Ionian conception of the Cosmos similar to that of Xenophanes, except that in the latter the divine substance is incapable of moving itself. Parmenides is at one with Xenophanes, Melissus differs from Parmenides in regarding the Cosmos as unlimited in space. C. Watzinger, *Vitruvstudien.* Close resemblance between V.'s divisions of Architecture and those of a Stoic theory of rhetoric probably due to Posidonius. A. Klotz, *Die Caesarüberlieferung.* The MSS. of Fam. α are derived from a copy of β, in which variants from an old MS. (containing only the *B. G.*) had been inserted. A. v. Mess, *Die Hellenika von Oxyrhynchos und die Berichte Xenophons und Diodors.* The accounts of Thibron's activity in 399 given by D. and X. not mutually exclusive, but supplementary; the common source probably the *Hellenica* of Oxyrhynchus. A study of the account of Agesilaus' first expedition and the war between Boeotia and Phocia in 395 in X. and the new *Hellenica* shows that X.'s narrative is summary, unscientific, and, where Agesilaus is concerned, too much inclined to panegyric. H. Mutschmann, *Die Ueberlieferung der Schriften des Sextus Empiricus.* 1. The MSS. 2. Relation of the MSS. to each other. 3. History of the text in the West. H. Rabe, *Aus Rhetoren-Handschriften.* 9. Greek Letter-books. Connected instructions first found in Philostratus and Gregory Nazianzene. The Libanius-Proclus treatise probably belongs to the 6th, the Pseudo-Demetrius one not later than the 10th, century. The Ἐπιστολικοῦ χαρακτῆρος σύνοψις probably belongs to the 15th. A. Brinkmann, *Der älteste Briefsteller.* The τύποι ἐπιστολικοὶ ascribed to Demetrius of Phalerum originated in Egypt between the 2nd cent. B.C. and the middle of the 1st cent. of our era. *Miscellen:* R. Asmus, *Zur Textkritik von Julian or. V;* H. van Herwerden, *Ad Libanii orationes, Vol. IV. ed, Foerster;* G. Mercati, *A proposito di un' oscura sottoscrizione.* In the mysterious subscription to certain 'corrections' to Simplicius' commentary on Aristotle's Physics, found in a Vatican MS., the figures denote not the age of the MS. used, but the number of 'corrections' borrowed. D. P. may stand for Donato Poli; A. Klotz, *Das Ordnungsprinzip in Vergils Bucolica.* Dramatic and narrative idylls alternate: Ecl. 7 is a narrative of a dramatic scene. Cp. the Theocritus scholia with their labels δραματικόν, διηγηματικόν; C. Weyman, *Zum carmen de figuris.* Ll. 139 *sqq.* contain reminiscences of not only Cato *Orig.* fr. 108, but Afran. 140 R³, Hor. *Sat.* 1. 4. 131 *sqq.*; Idem, *Zu Ambrosius.* In Ambr. *De Elia* 6. 18 *ineptis siluestribus hospitalis humanitatis implebat officium* read *inemptis* (Verg. *G.* 4. 132); *oleribus* (so the old Paris MS.) *siluestribus*, etc.; Idem, *Vexare.* Means 'kill' in an inscription; J. Cholodniak, *Zu Petronius.* In *Sat.* 30 read *quorum* imam *partem*, in 46 for *dispare pallauit* read **disparpallauit* (Italian *sparpagliare*, French *éparpiller*); J. M. Stahl, 'Εσομαι—*ero.* Not future subjunctives, but present ind. with future force; S. Eitrem, *Hermes*, Πολίγιον. Π. = Πολυγύγιος; E. Ziebarth, *Zum 'Gasthaus der Römer und Richter' in Sparta.*

64. 3. 1909.

C. Meister, *De itinerario Aetheriae abbatissae perperam nomini s. Siluiae addicto.* Gamurrini's proofs that the pilgrimage was undertaken at the end of the 4th century refuted: it took place after 533 and before 540. Aetheria a native of Narbonese Gaul: it is difficult to find traces of her natural tongue, as her style is 'learned,' being influenced by the sacred writings: note, however, *absoluere* = 'break fast' (*asciolvere*), *se facere* for *fieri*, etc. T. Birt, *Zur Monobiblos und zum Codex N des Properz.* The so-called Bk. 1 was a separate publication, like Martial's *liber spectaculorum;* the real Bk. 1 of his 'Complete Works' is represented, probably in selection, by poems 1-11 of what is now called Bk. 2. Orthographical and other peculiarities of m. 2 in N., etc. etc. Discussion of passages of Bk. 2 (*e.g.* 25.17, 22.48 *sqq.*, 12.17 *sqq.*,

9.17 *sqq.* N. intended to form part of a collective MS. S. Sudhaus, *Der Kampf um die Perikeiromene.* Reconstruction, etc.: e.g. conjecture as to the contents of the gap after l. 70, interpretation of ll. 447 *sqq.*, suggestion that the person with whom Doris converses 479 *sqq.* is Pataecus. W. Crönert, *Das Lied von Marisa.* Text and interpretation of Greek inscription on a tomb near the ancient M. in Judaea. It is a dialogue between a wife and her paramour: cp. the Λοκρικαὶ ᾠδαί 'of which Phoenicia is full' in Athen. 15. 697*b*. C. collects all examples he knows of Ionic verses in Egyptian papyri and inscriptions. W. F. Otto, *Röm. 'Sondergotter.'* Some of the most difficult names in Vario's list explicable on the theory that they are connected with the name of a *gens*, and denote the god worshipped by that gens: so e.g. *Caeculus* (Caecilii), *Vitumnus* (Vitellii), *Sentinus* (Sentii: whence Sentinum). The goddess Carna (the form Cardea has no real authority) is the goddess of the Carn(i)i. Cult of Janus and Juno at the Tigillum sororium a purificatory one, in the hands of the *gens Horatia. Miscellen*: T. Birt, *Zu Cic. ad Att.* 4. 5. 5. Read *cum structura* (=shelves) for *constructione;* G. Némethy, *Coniecturae in Tibullum;* A. Klotz, *Der Titel von Statius Siluae. In quarto siluarum* shews that each poem is a silua: the old explanation 'sketch' is right; Idem., *zu Dionys. Periegetes.* In a passage in Guido of Pisa, where he is called Dionysius Ionicus, the epithet is perhaps due to misunderstanding of ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΥ. Guido's words then confirm the suggestion that he was son of the Alexandrian grammarian; S. Sudhaus, *Philodemeum.* Notes on Περὶ τοῦ καθ' Ὅμηρον ἀγαθοῦ βασιλέως, columns x and xxv; H. Schöne, *Zu den Aratscholien;* H. Mutschmann, *Die Ueberlieferung der Schriften des Sext. Emp.* Addenda to his article in last number; A. Brinkmann, *Lückenbüsser.* θρίαμβος 'publication'; emendation of a passage in Phlegon; punctuation of one in Theodoret.

64. 4. 1909.

E. Petersen, *Pausanias der Perieget.* Maintains, against Robert, the view that P.'s book represents a connected tour, in which the author leads one from place to place. Discussion of many details, especially the pinacotheca of 1. 22. 6, the Zeus temple of 5.10, and the account of Delphi. H. Rabe, *Aus Rhetoren-Handschriften.* 10. General Introductions fall into three classes—one with a ten chapter arrangement, one arranged on same principle as Aristotle's categories (generally three, not four, fold), one based on a combination of grammatical and philosophical principles. 11. The 'Three-men' Commentary of Walz, 4 pp. 1 *sqq.* Analysis and corrections from Paris. 2923. 12. A Hermagoras MS. at Sofia. W. Aly, *Ein Beitrag zur Textgeschichte Herodots.* Epic forms a prominent feature of the Romanus class, and certain pseudo-Ionisms occur mainly there. AB represent a new revision of the ed. of Aristarchus, RVS the vulgate, strongly influenced by it, but owing much to the hands of editors of the second century of our era. F. Jacoby, *Tibulls erste Elegie.* 1. Composition. Three motives: ll. 7-24 war and peace; ll. 25-44 former wealth, present poverty; ll. 57-74 glory and love. The first two form the bucolic, the last the erotic parts of the poem: each of the three distinctly hints at the motive of the succeeding passage. 2. Tibullus and the Diatribe. Influence of diatribe with such τόποι as that περὶ πλούτου on the poem: to this is due the lack of reference to the erotic motive in the concluding lines of the poem. *Miscellen:* W. Crönert, *Ein Epigramm des Nikarchos.* Interpretation of A.P. 5. 40; R. Kunze, *Zu Plutarch de fac. in orbe lunae.* Emends on p. 932c to 'ἔκλειψίς ἐστιν ἡλίου σύνοδος σκιᾷ σελήνης,' τὴν ἔκλειψιν <οὐκ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἄστρου πάθος, ἀλλὰ τῆς ἡμετέρας ὄψεως εἶναι ὀρθῶς λέγει>. ἐκείνοις γὰρ, κ.τ.λ.; W. Aly, *Herodots Vorlesung in Athen.* The statement that H. received 10 talents is a misconception due to the abbreviation X.: 600 drachmae would be natural enough; A. Brinkmann, *Lückenbüsser.* 6. ἄνδρες σοφοὶ Μουσάων ὑποφῆται in Constantinus Manasses = Herodotus. 7. Two fragments of Teucer of Cyzicus.

Wochenschrift für Klassische Philologie. 1909.

7 June. Fr. Poulsen, *Recherches sur quelques questions relatives à la topographie de Delphes* (A. Trendelenburg). 'Stimulating, and founded on thorough knowledge.' E. W. Hope, *The Language of Parody* (—r.), favourable. L. Bloch, *Soziale Kämpfe im alten Rom.* 2 Aufl. (Fr. Cauer), favourable. Fr. Rabenald, *Quaestionum Solinianarum capita tria* (J. Müller). 'The results will be accepted.' E. Gollob, *Die Bibliothek des Jesuiten Kollegiums in Wien XIII. und ihre Handschriften* (M. Manitius). O. Immisch, *Wie studiert man klassische Philologie?* (R. Wagner), very favourable.

14 June. W. Deonna, *Les Apollons archaïques* (A. Trendelenburg), very favourable. O. Moessner, *Die Mythologie in der dorischen und altattischen Komödie* (W.), favourable. K. Conradt, *Die Grundlagen der griechischen Orchestik und Rhythmik* (K. Löschhorn), very favourable. M. Schlossarek, *Temporum et modorum syntaxis Terentiana*, I. (F. Gustafsson), favourable on the whole. G. Giarratano, *De Martialis re metrica* (H. G.). 'Careful and thorough.'

21 June. R. Meringer, W. Meyer-Lübke, J. J. Mikkola, R. Much, M. Murko, *Wörter und Sachen.* Kulturhistorische Zeitschrift (E. Zupitza). E. Ciccotti, *Indirizzi e metodi degli studi di demografia antica* (Fr. Cauer), favourable. *Euphorionis fragmenta*, scr. F. Schneidweiler (J. Sitzler). 'Shows diligence and circumspection.' Guil. Stahl, *De bello Sertoriano* (Soltau), very favourable. H. Polstorff, *Lexikalische Studien zu den Satiren Juvenals* (K. Löschhorn), favourable. *Thesaurus linguae latinae.* Supplem. fasc. I. Nomina propria C—Carine (A. Zimmermann).

28 June. H. Weber, *Attisches Prozessrecht in den attischen Seebundsstaaten* (Fr. Cauer), favourable. V. Macchioro, *Ceramica sardofenicia nel museo civico di Pavia* (P. Goessler). E. Wendling, *Die Entstehung des Marcus-Evangeliums* (Soltau), favourable. J. Gabrielsson, *Ueber die Quellen des Clemens Alexandrinus.* II. (J. Dräseke), very favourable. *Transactions of the Third International Congress for the History of Religions* (K. Budde).

5 July. P. Cauer, *Grundfragen der Homerkritik.* 2 Aufl. (Chr. Harder), very favourable. A. Schwarzstein, *Eine Gebäudegruppe in Olympia* (A. Trendelenburg), very unfavourable. A. Egen, *Die beiden Theseuslieder des Bakchylides* (K. Löschhorn), favourable. V. Macchioro, *Ricerche demografiche intorno ai colombari* (P. Goessler). 'Clear and farseeing.' G. Zottoli, *Publio Paquio Proculo panattiere e supremo magistrato Pompeiano* (H. Dessau), favourable.

12 July. J. J. Thomopoulos, *Ἰθάκη καὶ Ὅμηρος.* I. *Ἡ Ὁμηρικὴ Ἰθάκη* and *Ithaka und Homer.* I. *Das homerische Ithaka* (P. Goessler), unfavourable. R. M. E. Meister, *Eideshelfer im griechischen Rechte* (Fr. Cauer), favourable. *Mitteilungen der Altertums-Kommission für Westfalen.* V. (H. Nöthe). H. L. Wilson, *Latin Inscriptions at the Johns Hopkins University* (H. Dessau).

19 July. A. van Gennep, *La question d'Homère* (R. Wagner), favourable. C. Robert, *Der neue Menander* (K. F. W. Schmidt). 'A furtherance of the study.' C. B. Williams, *The Participle in the Book of Acts* (E. Fränkel). 'A diligent and useful dissertation.' T. E. Euangelides, *Ἡ νῆσος Σέριφος* (J. Dräseke), very favourable. P. O. Rottmanner, *Geistesfrüchte aus der Klosterzelle*, herausg. von R. Jud (J. Dräseke), very favourable.

26 July. W. Michel, *De fabularum Graecarum argumentis metricis* (J. Wagner). 'Good and stimulating.' K. Kiefer, *Körperlicher Schmerz und Tod auf der attischen Bühne* (S. Mekler), favourable. L. Bodin et P. Mazon, *Extraits de Ménandre* (K. F. W. Schmidt), favourable. E. Menozzi, *Sull' Ἥρως di Menandro* (K. F. W. Schmidt). 'We have too little evidence to come to a safe conclusion.' M. Naechster, *De Pollucis et Phrynichi controversiis* (E. Althaus), favourable. Ph. Fabia, *L'avènement officiel de Tibère* (H. Nohl), favourable. Tacitus, *The Agricola* (D. R. Stuart), favourable. D. Cancogni, *Le rovine del Palatino* (Köhler), favourable.

9 Aug. M. Pieper, *Das Brettspiel der alten Ägypter* (A. Wiedemann). 'Interesting and learned.' R. T. Elliott, *Some Contributions to the Textual Criticisms of Aristophanes and Aeschylus* (E. Wüst), favourable. *Geschütze auf handschriftlichen Bildern*, herausg. von R. Schneider; *'Απολλοδώρου Πολιορκητικά und Παραγγέλματα πολιορκητικά*, herausg. von R. Schneider; *Anonymi de rebus bellicis liber*, von R. Schneider (R. Oehler), favourable. E. Pais, *Ricerche storiche e geografiche sull' Italia antica* (H. Nissen), favourable.

16 Aug. B. L. Gildersleeve, *Notes on Stahl's Syntax of the Greek Verb* (J. Sitzler), favourable. *T. Livi abu. c. libri.* Weissenborns erklärende Ausgabe neu bearb. von H. J. Müller, IX. 1, Buch 39 und 40. 3 Aufl. (Ed. Wolff). E. Dannhäuser, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Kaisers Probus* (W. Thiele), favourable.

30 Aug. H. Gressmann, *Altorientalische Texte und Bilder zum Alten Testamente*, in Verbindung mit A. Ungnad und H. Ranke, herausg. I. II. (C. Fries). 'A reliable guide.' Sophocles, *The Electra*, with a commentary abridged from the larger edition of R. C. Jebb by G. A. Davies (H. Steinberg), favourable. *Die Moselgedichte des Ansonius und des Fortunatus*, zum 2. Male herausg. und erkl. von C. Hosius (M. Manitius), favourable. O. Wischnewski, *De Prisciani institutionum grammaticarum compositione* (J. Tolkiehn). 'Rich in results.'

6 Sept. L. Pareti, *Ricerche sulla potenza marittima degli Spartani* (H. Swoboda). 'An excellent performance.' Th. Fitzhugh, *Supplement to the Prolegomena to the History of Italo-Romanic Rhythm, Carmen Arvale* (H. G.). Lucreti, *De rerum natura*, ed. by W. A. Merrill (H. Belling), very favourable. W. H. Alexander, *Some Textual Criticisms on the Eighth Book of the De vita Caesarum of Suetonius* (Th. Opitz), favourable. H. Martin, *Notes on the Syntax of the Latin Inscriptions found in Spain* (F. Gustafsson). 'Very important for vulgar Latin.'

13 Sept. E. Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums*. 2 Aufl. I. 2 (Fr. Cauer), very favourable. C. Mutzbauer, *Die Grundlagen der griechischen Tempuslehre und der homerische Tempusgebrauch*. II. (H. G.), favourable. R. Richter, *Der Skeptizismus in der Philosophie und seine Überwindung*. II. (A. Bonhöffer). 'Takes the right general standpoint.' P. Rasi, (1) *Analecta Horatiana per saturam*. (2) *L'accusativo con 'nescius.'* (3) *Frontonianum*. (4) *Alter rixatur de lana saepe caprina (a proposito di 'Virgilio' o 'Vergilio')* (Petri), favourable. St. Lösch, *Die Einsiedler Gedichte* (M. Manitius). 'Shows the way of solution.'

20 Sept. A. Trendelenburg, *Ein Talisman*. Blätter für die Mitgleider des Wissenschaftlichen Zentral-Vereins. Nr. I. (E. Wilisch). J. A. Scott, *Studies in Greek Sigmatism* (J. Sitzler). 'A worthy contribution.' W. Soltau, *Die Anfänge der römischen Geschichtschreibung* (H. Nissen), favourable on the whole. Sénèque, *De Otio*, par R. Waltz (W. Gemoll), rather unfavourable. *Octavia praetexta*, ed. J. Vürtheim (W. Gemoll), unfavourable. R. Lackner, *De casuum temporum modorum usu in ephemeride Dictyis-Septimii* (C. Stegmann). 'Valuable for collection of material.' A. Riehl, *Humanistische Ziele des mathematischen und naturwissenschaftlichen Unterrichts* (tz). 'Rich in ideas.'

27 Sept. A. Körte, *Zu dem Menander-Papyrus in Kairo* and *Zwei neue Blätter der Perikeiromene* (K. F. W. Schmidt), favourable. K. Lehmann, *Hannibals Alpenweg* and *Zur Geschichte der Barkiden*. I. *Hannibals Alpenübergang als Marschleistung* (Fr. Reuss), unfavourable. *Ovidii Amores*, ed. G. Némethy (H. Belling), unfavourable. H. Lietzmann, *Der Weltheiland* (L. Hahn), very favourable.

4 Oct. J. Geffcken, *Kynika und Verwandtes* (W. Nestle). 'A very worthy contribution.' Fr. Sandgathe, *Die Wahrheit der Kriterien Epikurs* (A. Döring), favourable. J. May, *Rhythmische Formen, nachgewiesen durch Beispiele aus Cicero und Demosthenes* (Th. Zielinski), unfavourable. R. Waltz, *Vie de Sénèque* (G. Andresen), favourable on the whole. Grégoire de Nysse, *Discours catéchétique*, par L. Méridier (J. Dräseke), favourable.

11 Oct. *Thukydides*, erkl. von J. Classen. 7 Band, VII. Buch, 3 Aufl. von J. Steup (P. Widmann). O. Willmann, *Aristoteles als Pädagog und Didaktiker* (W. Nestle). 'To be recommended.' H. Guhrauer, *Etwas von altgriechischer Musik* (K. Löschhorn). 'Very well worth consideration.' B. L. Ullman, *The Identification of the Manuscripts of Catullus cited in Statius' edition of* 1556 (H. Belling). 'Of use for the history of philology.' *Ciris, Epyllion pseudo-Vergilianum*, ed. G. Némethy (F. Skutsch), unfavourable. Th. Stangl, *Pseudo-asconiana* (Schmiedeburg), favourable. Th. Litt, *Lucians philosophische Entwicklung* (P. Schulze), very favourable.

18 Oct. R. R. Marett, *Anthropology and the Classics.* Six lectures delivered before the University of Oxford by A. J. Evans, A. Lang, G. Murray, F. B. Jevons, J. L. Myres, and W. W. Fowler (Fr. Cauer), favourable. M. Engers, *De Aegyptiarum κωμῶν administratione qualis fuerit aetate Lagidarum* (A. Wiedemann). 'A valuable contribution to our knowledge.' H. L. Axtell, *The Deification of Abstract Ideas in Roman Literature and Inscriptions* (H. Steuding), favourable. E. Pfretzschner, *Die Grundrissentwickelung der römischen Thermen* (Köhler). 'A very useful book.' W. Brandes, *Beiträge zu Ausonius.* IV. *Die Ephemeris—ein Mimus* (R. E. Ottmann), favourable. G. Mau, *Die Religionsphilosophie Kaiser Julians* (J. Dräseke), very favourable.

25 Oct. G. Radet, *Cybébé* (S. Wide), favourable. N. Pawlatos, Ἡ ὁμηρικὴ Ἰθάκη (W. Becher). 'Against Dörpfeld and his followers.' J. A. Stewart, *Plato's Doctrine of Ideas* (R. Adam), favourable. C. Ritter, *Platons Staat.* 'Very painstaking.' *Tibulle et les auteurs du Corpus Tibullianum*, par A. Cartault (H. Belling). 'Satisfies a great need.' Fr. Lohr, *Das Marsfeld* (Forts.) (Köhler), favourable. J. Kurth, *Aus Pompeji* (Köhler). 'May be recommended to all travellers.' K. Krumbacher, Κτήτωρ. Ein lexikographischer Versuch (G. Wartenberg).

1 Nov. G. van Hoorn, *De vita atque cultu puerorum* (H. Blümner), favourable. H. Diels, *Herakleitos von Ephesos.* 2 Aufl. (A. Döring), very favourable. K. Gleisberg, *De vocabulis tragicis quae apud Platonem inueniuntur* (H. Gillischewski). 'A very respectable performance.' *Fontes iuris Romani antiqui*, ed. G. Bruns, septimum ed. O. Gradenwitz (E. Grupe). 'This well-known and valued collection.' F. Knoke, *Armin der Befreier Deutschlands* (E. Wilisch), very favourable.

8 Nov. L. Szczepański, *Nach Petra und zum Sinai* (A. Wiedemann), very favourable. *Tätigkeitsbericht des Vereins Klassischer Philologen zu Wien:* of particular interest are J. Keil, *Zur erythräischen Priestertümerverkaufsinschrift*, and R. Meister, *Beiträge zur Lautlehre der Septuaginta* (E. Fränkel). *Thucydides*, by E. C. Marchant, Book III. (S. P. Widmann), favourable. A. Siegmund, *Thukydides und Aristoteles über die Oligarchie des Jahres* 411 *in Athen* (Schneider), favourable. J. Lange, *Alesia* (J. Dräseke). 'A meritorious dissertation.' V. Chapot, *La frontière de l'Euphrate* (A. Schulten). 'Diligent, but wanting in method.' F. X. Zeller, *Die Zeit Kommodians* (W. Thiele), very favourable. F. Gaffiot, *Pour le vrai Latin* (Th. Stangl), favourable on the whole. H. C. Lipscomb, *Aspects of the Speech in the Later Roman Epic* (J. Ziehen). 'Has a certain statistical value.' *D. B. Monro.* A short memoir, translated from a notice by J. Cook Wilson (J. Ziehen). 'A man of decisive influence in England.'

15 Nov. *Publications of the Princeton University Archæological Expedition to Syria.* III. *Greek and Latin Inscriptions.* Sec. B 2 and 3, by W. K. Prentice (W. Larfeld). 'Of the highest value.' F. Meyerhoefer, *Über die Schlüsse der erhaltenen griechischen Tragödien* (S. Mekler), unfavourable. H. Bergfeld, *De versu Saturnio* (H. G.), favourable. L. Vischi, *Laocoonte: Due episodi dell' Eneide. L'Eneide: Testo e versione ritmica* (H. D.), favourable. J. Toutain, *Le cadastre de l'Afrique romaine* (W. Barthel), favourable. J. Bidez, *La tradition manuscrite de Sozomène et la tripartite de Théodore le Lecteur* (J. Dräseke), very favourable.

22 Nov. A. S. Arvanitopoullos, Ἡ σημασία τῶν γραπτῶν στηλῶν Παγασῶν and Κατάλογος τῶν ἐν τῷ Ἀθανασακείῳ Μουσείῳ Βόλου ἀρχαιοτήτων. Πρώτη αἴθουσα, 1–41 (W. Larfeld). J. E. Harry, *Studies in Euripides' Hippolytus* (K. Busche). 'Shows care and circumspection.' K. Krumbacher, *Das Programm des neuen Thesaurus der griechischen Sprache* (E. Fränkel), favourable. F. C. Wick, *Sepulcralia* (Fr. Harder). 'Not unsuccessful.' M. Grabmann, *Die Geschichte der scholastischen Methode.* I. *Bis zum Beginn des* 12. *Jahrhunderts* (J. Dräseke), very favourable.

29 Nov. J. Roiron, *Étude sur l'imagination auditive de Virgile* and Κριτικὰ καὶ ἐξηγητικὰ περί τινων Οὐεργιλίου στίχων (P. Jahn), very favourable. A. Elter, *Donarem pateras* (J. Häussner), on Hor. Od. IV. 8, favourable. *Eranos: Acta philologica Suecana*, edenda cur. V. Lundström. Vol. VI. (J. Ziehen).

6 Dec. J. A. Scott, *The Influence of Metre on the Homeric Choice of Dissyllables* (H. G.). On λόγος, νόμος, and σοφός, favourable. N. Wecklein, *Über die dramatische Behandlung des Telephosmythus* (R. Wagner), favourable. O. Frick, *Xenophontis quae fertur apologia Socratis num genuina sit* (O. Immisch), very favourable. W. Laible, *De Pluti Aristophaneae aetate interpretes antiqui quid iudicaverint* (E. Wüst), unfavourable. G. Jachmann, *De Aristotelis didascaliis* (E. Wüst), favourable. E. Ziebarth, *Aus dem griechischen Schulwesen. Endemos von Milet und Verwandtes* (W. Larfeld). 'Attempts too much.' C. Bione, *I più antichi trattati di arte retorica in lingua latina* (M. Stangl), rather unfavourable. Ciceronis orationes *pro Quinctio, pro Roscio comoedo, pro Caecina, de lege agraria contra Rullum, pro Rabirio, pro Flacco, in Pisonem, pro C. Rabirio postumo*, rec. A. C. Clark (J. K. Schönberger). 'A work of lasting merit.' F. Plessis, *La Poésie Latine de Livius Andronicus à Rutilius Namatianus* (J. Ziehen), favourable.

13 Dec. M. P. Nilsson, *Timbres amphoriques de Lindos* (A. Köster), very favourable. F. Hoeber, *Griechische Vasen* (O. Engelhardt), favourable. B. L. Ullman, *The Book Division of Propertius* (H. Belling), favourable. *Taciti Cn. Julii Agricolae vita*, cur. J. S. Allen (Ed. Wolff). 'Without any value.' V. Macchioro, *Il simbolismo nelle figurazioni sepolcrali romane* (J. Ziehen), favourable. P. Heseler, *Zu Porphyrius' Schrift* Ἀφορμαὶ πρὸς τὰ νοητά (J. Dräseke). 'Fourteen pages full of learning.' *Eusebius' Kirchengeschichte mit der lateinischen Übersetzung des Rufinus*, herausg. von E. Schwartz und Th. Mommsen. II. 3 (J. Dräseke), very favourable.

20 Dec. W. Aly, *Der Kretische Apollonkult* (H. Steuding), favourable. R. Hirzel, *Die Strafe der Steinigung* (B. v. Hagen). 'A mine of learning.' A. Stahl, *Mensch und Welt. Epikur und die Stoa* (J. Dräseke). 'May be recommended to those in official life.' E. Reuter, *De Avieni hexametrorum re metrica* (H. G.), favourable. *Bericht des Vereins Carnuntum in Wien für die Jahre* 1906 *und* 1907 and *Der römische Limes in Österreich.* Heft X. (P. Goessler). H. Blaufuss, *Römische Feste und Feiertage nach den Traktaten über fremden Dienst in Mischna, Tosefta, Jerusalemer und babylonischen Talmud* (L. Hahn), favourable. P. Becker, *De Photio et Aretha lexicorum scriptoribus* (E. Fränkel). 'A very interesting dissertation.'

27 Dec. *Theophrasti Characteres*, rec. H. Diels (A. Zingerle), very favourable. S. Copalle, *De servorum Graecorum nominibus capita duo* (E. Fränkel). 'A very diligent and interesting dissertation.' J. Ziehen, *Neue Studien zur lateinischen Authologie* (M. Manitius), very favourable. *Veröffentlichungen der Vereinigung der Freunde des humanistischen Gymnasiums in Berlin und der Provinz Brandenburg.* I. Heft. Herausg. von E. Grünwald (Th. Opitz).

ARCHAEOLOGICAL.

American Journal of Archaeology. XII. Part 4. 1908.

H. N. Fowler, *Charles Eliot Norton* (obituary notice). G. P. Stevens, *The Cornice of the Temple of Athena Nike* (ten cuts). Identifies the cornice assigned by Daumet to the Nike temple as the raking cornice of the north portico of the Erechtheum. J. M. Paton, *The Death of Thersites on an Apulian Amphora in the Boston Museum* (plate, two cuts). The vase represents Achilles in an *aedicula*, with the decapitated body of Thersites before him. The story varies from those in the known literary versions, and seems to suggest that told by Harpocration, *s.v.* φάρμακος, in which Thersites was punished for theft. O. S. Tonks, *Experiments with the Black Glaze on Greek Vases.* Claims to have solved the problem of its nature; denies that the red is a glaze, but the black is of that character, made from clay combined with iron and soda. F. B. Tarbell, *A White Athenian Lecythus belonging to the University of Chicago* (cut). An unusual type, with lines of thin glaze on brownish slip, about 450 B.C.; subject, three stelae on a pedestal, with names (of members of a family) inscribed. D. M. Robinson and W. N. Bates, *Notes on Vases in Philadelphia.* Discussing an amphora by Meno (*Noel des Vergers*, iii. pl. 9). A. L. Frothingham, *The Real Title of Botticelli's Pallas.* Pallas is to be interpreted as Florentia. *Archaeological Discussions*, ed. W. N. Bates. Supplementary Part: *Annual Reports of American Schools and Archaeological Institute.*

XIII. Part 1. 1909.

H. N. Fowler, *John Henry Wright* (obituary notice). J. C. Rolfe, *Two Etruscan Mirrors* (seven cuts). One from Fidenae represents Peleus and Thetis, the latter winged; the other from Fescenninum or Falerii, the three Cabeiri. J. B. Carter, *The Death of Romulus.* The Romulus legend is of late date, and the story of his death is not known before the third century; but no form of it accounts for the grave in the Forum. Probably this monument is an altar at which the *rex* performed his functions, and the *lex arae* was written on the *niger lapis*. D. M. Robinson, *An Oenophorus belonging to the Johns Hopkins University* (six cuts). Resembles G186 in British Museum; subject, the Dioscuri with horses. On the foot is incised οἰνοφόρος (which explains the word as used in Hor. *Sat.* I. 6, 109). A. L. Frothingham, *A Pseudo-Roman Relief in the Uffizi—a Renaissance Forgery* (cut). Represents an imperial sacrifice; date probably latter half of fifteenth century. Ch. Hülsen, *The Burning of Rome under Nero.* Considers the fire due to accident, not to the Emperor. *General Meeting of Archaeological Institute* (summaries of papers read). *Archaeological News*, ed. W. N. Bates.

Part 2.

W. Dennison, *An Inscription of the 'Labicani Quintanenses'* (cut). This inscription at Frascati, partly erased in antiquity, had been previously misread; Quintanas was a posting-station fifteen miles from Rome, not on the site of Labicum, though the people were known by this title. H. A. Sanders, *The Age and Ancient Home of the Biblical MSS. in the Freer Collection* (three plates). Mary H. Swindler, *Another Vase by the Master of the Penthesilea Cylix* (seven cuts). Vase at Philadelphia, with signature of Nikosthenes on foot, which does not belong; subjects, youth pursuing maiden and departure scenes. (See Furtwaengler, *Gr. Vasenm.* i. p. 283.) W. N. Bates, *A Head of Heracles in the style of Scopas* (plate, three cuts). A head from Sparta at Philadelphia resembling those from Tegea. Elizabeth M. Gardiner, *A Series of Sculptures from Corinth* (plate, two cuts). Fragments of fifth-century sepulchral reliefs. Esther

B. van Deman, *The so-called Flavian Rostra* (seven cuts). Accepts Richter's view that the whole is a single structure, except the hemicycle, which belongs to a later restoration; in all, four architectural periods can be recognized. *Archaeological Discussions*, ed. W. N. Bates. *Bibliography of Archaeological Books* (*id.*).

Athenische Mitteilungen. XXXIII. Heft 4. 1908.

The Operations at Pergamon, 1906-07: (1) W. Dörpfeld, *The Buildings* (five plates, eight cuts). The principal buildings explored were the upper gymnasium, with buildings adjoining on west, the temple (R) on the height to the west, the south-eastern town wall, a bridge over the Selinus, and tumuli. West part of gymnasion (*γυμνάσιον τῶν νέων*) now uncovered, completing the court, with theatres, bathroom, etc., all of Greek period. Temple dedicated to Asklepios, prostyle with pronaos, dating from regal period, and showing transition from Doric to Ionic. A supplement deals with operations in 1908. (2) P. Jacobsthal, *Inscriptions* (plate). Seventy in all published, including decrees, lists of ephebi, honorary and sepulchral inscriptions. (3) P. Jacobsthal, *Minor Finds* (three plates and cut). Marble torso in style of altar-frieze, probably the cult statue of the temple; pillar, with ornament like plaited straw, round which is plane-wreath; terracotta figure of Asklepios; Hellenistic pottery; gold ornaments and bronze sword from sarcophagus in tumulus. (4) P. Schazmann, *Wall-Paintings in the House of the Consul Attalos* (cut). Frescoes found in 1906, in the style of Pompeii (first period) and Prima Porta; one has doves drinking like the mosaic of Sosos. B. Sauer, *The Middle Group of the Parthenon East Pediment*. Further comments on Prandtl's article (*A. M.*, 1908, p. 1 ff.; cf. p. 101 ff.); gives additional reasons for rejecting the hovering Nike in this position.

Jahrbuch des deutschen archäologischen Instituts. XXIII. 1908. Heft 3.

B. Sauer, *Myron's Marsyas Group* (two plates, thirteen cuts). Copies of group of Marsyas and Athena discussed, and types on coins compared with sculptures. Two types may be recognized as representing the group seen by Pausanias at Athens, and Brunn is probably right in connecting this with the Marsyas mentioned by Pliny. H. Thiersch, *Lysippos' Alexander with the Spear* (four cuts). Claims as genuine a gold medallion from Aboukir with this subject, and refers it to an original by Lysippos. R. Zahn, *Sarcophagus from Clazomenae in the Berlin Museum* (three cuts). Describes the one published in *Ant. Denkm.*, ii. pl. 58; remarkable for combination of B. F. and R. F. technique and for representation of winged Athena. Anzeiger: (1) *Myron's Group of Athena and Marsyas* (J. Sieveking) (cut). (2) *Recent Excavations in Palestine* (H. Thiersch) (19 cuts). (3) *Acquisitions of Louvre, British Museum, Ashmolean, and Boston Museum in* 1907. (4) *Meetings of Berlin arch. Gesellschaft.* (5) *Notices.* (6) *Bibliography.*

Heft 4.

G. Kropatschek, *Pila Muralia* (additional note) (cut). With reference to previous article (1908, p. 79 ff.), rejects Eichhoff's explanation as = Caesar's *verruta;* instances a wooden example found in Hesse; raises question whether they are not German weapons imitating the Roman *pila*. C. Robert, '*Homeric Bowls*,' *illustrating Euripides' Phoenissae* (two plates, five cuts). Publishes a bowl at Halle, and compares it with G104 in British Museum. Notes sundry variations from text; the only group exactly corresponding is that of Iokaste and her children, the rest is the fancy of some *τορευτής*. G. Lippold, *Polykleitos* (eight cuts). Studies Polycleitan heads, and notes difficulty of distinguishing divine and athletic types; one of the so-called Herakles heads is only a variant of two athlete types. A. Jolles, *Egypto-Mycenaean Ornamental*

Vessels (fifty cuts). Compares Mycenaean gold and silver vases with those depicted in Egyptian wall-paintings; Mycenaean gold *repoussé* ornaments probably adorned rims of vases in imitation of those seen in the paintings. Egyptian treatment of perspective seems to show that figures of animals were placed *inside* the vases; this principle degenerates into the early Italian plates, with figures in the round, and appears in another form in Roman silver work. Anzeiger: (1) *Excavations at Numantia* (A. Schulten) (eight cuts). (2) *Meetings of Berlin arch. Gesellschaft*, March-June, 1908. (3) *Bibliography*.

XXIV. 1909. Heft 1.

J. Sieveking, *The Hermes of Polykleitos* (two plates, seven cuts). With reference to Lippold's article (*supra*), identifies a Polycleitan athlete-head in Boston as a Hermes, and connects it with the Boboli statue. J. Six, *Euphranor* (twelve cuts). Euphranor applies the canon of Polykleitos, but mars the effect by exaggerations; in painting he pays more attention to colour than to composition; his work more dignified than most contemporary art. Assigns to him the Eubouleus-head and the Lysippian Poseidon in the Lateran. A. Hekler, *Hellenistic Bronze Vases from Egyed* (two plates, five cuts). Describes inlaid patera with Nile landscape, and jug of early Ptolemaic date with Isis procession; probably used in that ceremony. Fr. W. von Bissing, *Note on the Preceding Article*. Confirms Hekler's dating. B. Schulz, *The Porta Aurea at Spalato* (three cuts). Discusses the decoration, and attempts reconstruction; composition shows no signs of decadence. Anzeiger: (1) *Gnathia Vases in Reimer Collection at Hamburg* (R. Pagenstecher) (five cuts). (2) *Faliscan Vases in the same* (R. Ballheimer) (three cuts). (3) *Attic Hydria from Melos* (E. Roese) (cut). (4) *Bibliography*. (5) *Obituary Notices of A. Mau and G. Kawerau*.

H. B. W.

THE CLASSICAL QUARTERLY

APRIL 1910.

THE ODYSSEAN BOOKS OF THE *ILIAD*.

DISSECTING criticism of Homer has proved to its own satisfaction that certain books of the *Iliad* are late, and have special affinity with the *Odyssey*. This Odyssean connexion is established by collecting verbal and metrical peculiarities and grammatical usages, which are found outside these parts of the *Iliad* only in what is held to be the later poem. The chief delinquents are I, K, Ψ and Ω; but many would add the *Apaté*, Nestor's reminiscence in Λ, and other tracts. There is not complete agreement as to the limits of the category; but generally it is assumed that the four books, and, when necessary, other parts of the *Iliad*, have the Odyssean taint. Strangely enough, Θ is not so treated. Yet, as Mr. Andrew Lang has remarked, it *ought* to be Odyssean, if, as so many think, it was composed as a 'prologue' to I.

I have examined with some care the language of one of these unfortunate books, K, and have given due consideration to this theory of Odyssean affinity as a whole. My investigations have led me to doubt whether it has any real basis; and two recent publications have confirmed my scepticism. Miss Stawell, in *Homer and the Iliad*, has attacked the theory so far as it relates to Ψ and Ω, and seems to have cut away the grammatical grounds. Mr. John A. Scott, in *Classical Philology* for January, 1910, has dealt with vocabulary, and has had no difficulty, so far as that goes, in vindicating the tainted books. I would only add that if, following the models of the Higher Criticism, we take into account forms, meanings, formulae, etc., the case can be made even stronger. A itself, which to destructive critics, with the exception of a few neo-Homerists, is sacred as the earliest part of the *Ur-Ilias*, can be shown to reek of Odysseanism. I may give one example. There are more than ten formulae used in A which, outside it, are confined almost exclusively to the *Odyssey* and the so-called Odyssean sections of the *Iliad*.

K, or the Doloneia, is now regarded as the pariah of the *Iliad*, an outcast for which every traveller along the Homeric ways should have a stone. The

book has, as Mr. T. W. Allen says, 'been persistently written down.' The linguistic attack was commenced by Ad. Holm in 1853; it was developed by Düntzer in an essay now printed in his *Hom. Abhandlungen;* and it culminated in an onslaught by K. Orszulik in a pamphlet published in 1883. I do not know of anything in Homeric literature to compare with Orszulik's catalogue of the enormities of K. If it proves anything, it is that the author of the lay (who is often classed as a late *imitative* poet!) was endeavouring, by eccentricities of diction, to prove how thoroughly un-Homeric such work could be made, and yet gain admission to the canon. But these attacks have not been answered, and they have had their effect. Professor Henry has reason when he affirms that the verdict of the philologists is 'unequivocal.'

The success of the philological campaign has encouraged the prosecution of destructive criticism by the many means known to the patrons of that art. The style, the narrative, the *Realien*, the connexions of the book, have all been studied with the greatest minuteness by writer after writer in special monographs and in works on the Homeric Question. Nearly all have reached the same conclusion—that K is spurious, late, and Odyssean. Even Dr. Monro gave up the Doloneia. Messrs. Allen, Lang, and Jevons still preserve their belief in its genuineness; but they form a very small minority.

I humbly think that the case, in all its phases, has won acceptance too easily, and that the judgment against K should be reviewed. The lay seems to emerge unscathed from every ordeal, and I have submitted it to many. Try it, for instance, by the Digamma, a test that has always been dear to disruptive criticism. The criterion is certainly not a good one. The learned are far from being agreed as to the words which were digammated in Homer, or even as to what are to be considered as neglects of *F*. Many deny absolutely that there is any difference between the Digamma-phenomena of so-called late and early parts of the poems. But apply the test, such as it is. There is no difficulty in proving K as early as A, and that, whether you examine and compare individual neglects in the two books, or, with Sikes and Allen (*Hom. Hymns*, LXIII ff.), collate all the phenomena. Yet there are authorities, including Dr. Leaf and the late Sir R. Jebb, who would date K as late as 650 B.C., when *F* had been dead in Ionic for perhaps two centuries, and when Archilochus was writing poetry absolutely innocent of its influence (Thumb, *I. F.*, IX 325, 329, 334, and Fick, *Odyssey*, 8). Or apply the metrical test. It has hardly even been suggested that the Doloneia differs in its versification from the rest of the *Iliad*. But Hesiod and the Hymns and the remains of the Cyclics show decided degeneration in verse-structure. The Doloneia shows none. Try it again by the Article. Dissectors condemn passages on a τόν or a τοῦ. It is a poor test. Its patrons have no regard to the modernizers, who certainly often put in an Attic Article (Agar's *Homerica, passim*). But take the phenomena as they are on the face of the poems, and as they have been collected for every book by Miss Stawell (*op. cit.*, 278 ff.). The Odyssean books of the *Iliad* are not a whit worse than the others. And if we compare K and

A, there are in the latter occurrences of the Article in one of its highest uses—*τά τ' ἐόντα, τὰ κάκ'*, etc.—which are not to be paralleled in K.

The presence of strange words and forms has also been made ground of attack. L. Friedländer's well-known work, *Zwei hom. Wörterverzeichnisse*, has generally been taken as proving the futility of using *ἅπαξ λεγόμενα* as a criterion; but some high authorities continue to lay stress on them. They are not unduly numerous in K. Friedländer (*op. cit.*, 746 ff.) finds the proportion for the *Iliad*, one to every 14⅓ lines and for the *Odyssey*, one to 14. For K it is one to 14½. The solitary occurrences in K, which have been made so much of, are explained by the subject of the book. When the critics point out words in it which are, without apparent cause, used in place of words which are in common use elsewhere in the poems, we may pause to consider them. Rare forms and meanings and constructions are also relied on, but there is no difficulty in meeting the case founded on them. I cannot, of course, give particulars here, but I may cite one form to show that conclusions have been reached somewhat hastily. *τοῖσδεσσι*, which is found only in K (once) and five times in the *Odyssey*, is one of the trump cards of the opposition. From the terms in which it is referred to, one would gather that the ordinary form of the dative plural of *ὅδε* is common in the *Iliad*. On the contrary, the dative plural is not found in the *Iliad* outside K at all. How, then, can we say that *τοῖσδεσσι* was an abnormal form to the (supposed) mass of contributors to the *Iliad* other than the poet of K?

As for the Odyssean character of K, one has only to look at Düntzer's enumeration (*Hom. Abh.*, 323 f.) to see what a poor foundation it is to build on. He gives some twelve words and forms, with two verbs which happen to be used in the middle only in K and the *Odyssey!* But an attempt has been made to prove 'the dependence of K on the *Odyssey*,' as it is called, in another way. Dr. A. Gemoll (*Hermes*, XV 557 ff.) claims to have shown, by comparison of parallel passages, that K is later than the *Odyssey*, and borrows from it. But when one examines his parallels, one finds that in some there is no great similarity, that in others there is nothing more than the free use of epic commonplace, and, most important of all, that in the leading cases the critics are not only not agreed as to whether the matter is original in K or in the *Odyssey*, but also exhibit a diversity of opinion which is quite remarkable. I may illustrate this by one famous case. The similarity of K 243 f. and *α* 65 f. has always attracted attention, and I have collected the opinions of fifteen critics. Nine favour K and six the *Odyssey*. All come to judgment with the settled conviction that there is plagiarism in the one poem or the other, but their united wisdom cannot convince anybody that the one or the other is the offender. Surely there is room for the suggestion that the lines are original in each place.

The scandalous misuse of the Repetitions in Homer has been exposed by Dr. Carl Rothe times without number, and his work on the *Wiederholungen* has almost closed the discussion of the subject. But probably nothing will ever

stop the abuse in practice. It may be seen in full force in two recent works, Fick's *Entstehung der Odyssee*, and Witte's *Studien zu Homer*. It is a process that is absolutely barren of results. It disregards what is one of the most prominent characteristics of the poems, and proceeds on the preposterous assumption that, in the words of G. Lange, 'every verse in Homer has its *one* appropriate place.' I will only add, with reference to Gemoll's proof that K is later than the *Odyssey*, that Düntzer has satisfied himself (*op. cit.*, 472) *by the same method* that K is older than the *Odyssey*. I myself have found no difficulty in proving by it that K is older than books of the *Ur-Ilias*. The Odyssean case against K is a complete failure.

As regards the four Odyssean books as a group, there are other difficulties. Examine their case as one may, they do not hang together. Rothe, perhaps the leading Homerist in Germany, has remarked (*Jb. d. philolog. Vereins*, 1907, 324) how little K agrees with the other *Odysseebüchern*. Blass (*Interpol. in d. Odyssee*, 296) contrasts Ψ and Ω alone with the rest of the *Iliad*. Certain metrical peculiarities are specified by Dr. Monro (*H. G.*, 357) as Odyssean. Ψ and Ω exhibit them; I and K do not. From his Introduction to I in his *Iliad*, one gathers that he hesitates to class that book as late and Odyssean. And it is strange that, when a critic breaks up the *Iliad* by means of some criterion, it is seldom, if ever, that the quartette are found to belong to the same stratum or age. From Hentze's inquiries into εἰ with the conjunctive (*Zeitschr. f. vergl. Sprachforschg., N.F.*, XLI 356 ff.) it would appear that I and K attach themselves to the *Ur-Ilias* books, A, Λ, Π. Signor Della Seta has satisfied himself (*Rendic. d. R. Accad. d. Lincei*, 1907, 201 f.), on the occurrences of certain appellatives, that I belongs to the third, K and Ψ to the second, and Ω to the earliest of the four strata of the *Iliad*. Witte, on the other hand, in his *Singular und Plural*, makes Ω the most modern of all the additions. And so on.

The final touch in the elaboration of this Odyssean theory was put by Dr. Monro in the *H. G.* See the Index under '*Iliad*, characteristics of particular books, especially I, K, Ψ, Ω,' and also the Introductions to these books in his edition of the *Iliad*. There was to him a strong linguistic bond between the books themselves and between them and the *Odyssey*, so much so that one would think the comparison he makes, in the Appendix to his *Odyssey*, between the language of the *Iliad* and that of the *Odyssey*, should rather have been between the former *minus* I, K, Ψ, and Ω, and the latter *plus* those four books. And anyone who examines the details of that comparison will be struck by the fact that a number of the phenomena which Dr. Monro classes as Iliadic and not Odyssean are found in these Odyssean books, while many Odyssean usages are absent from them. The instances are numerous enough to cast most serious doubt on the theory we are discussing. But more, it frequently happens that when we examine an Odyssean book for occurrences of some usage which critics regard as a sign of late Odyssean work, we find, not merely that it does

not occur—that might be due to a variety of causes—but also that the old and genuine usage, which is the alternative to the modern and objectionable practice, is there in full force. The novelty which, as superseding or having superseded the ancient way, is considered one of the marks of the beast, is eschewed altogether. For instance, Fick and others have proscribed the contracted form of the genitive plural of the first declension. But in the late Odyssean book I such genitives occur twelve times, and in every case it is the old open form in *-αων* or *-εων*. Again, it pleases certain authorities, without—so far as I can discover from philological works—any good warrant, to regard iterative verbs as a sign of lateness. The criterion succeeds only if you grant with it unlimited freedom of excision. It fails utterly when applied to K, which has only one certain iterative. But a fact more striking still is this, that there is a passage in K, 5-16, which Fick (*Iliad*, 477) condemns as a late interpolation in this late book, in which its very late author had many opportunities of using this late form most appropriately. But he does not use it there *once*. Other cases could be added, but let these suffice. If these books are late and Odyssean, there is surely little virtue in some of the stock linguistic tests.

And no one, as far as I am aware, has given a thought to affinity with the *Iliad*. But if certain phenomena which appear only in K and the *Odyssey* prove affinity between K and the *Odyssey*, and tend to dissociate K from the *Iliad*, surely phenomena of the same description occurring only in K and the rest of the *Iliad* will tend to prove the same kind of affinity between K and the *Iliad*, and will in the same way tend to dissociate K from the *Odyssey*. It seems undeniable. I have drawn out particulars for K and the *Iliad*. They seem to be crushing to the Odyssean case. I may cite one item. Dr. Monro finds in K uses of prepositions which are Odyssean. But there are also, according to the *H. G.* (pp. 173, 180, 186), uses of *περί*, *ἐπί*, and *ἀνά* in K which are found elsewhere only in the *Iliad*. If some prepositional uses prove K to be late and Odyssean, others prove it to be early and Iliadic; which seems absurd, except on one obvious supposition. For the uses of prepositions which are styled Odyssean by Monro, reference may be made to Miss Stawell's work, *App. C*; they vanish under examination. Professor Murray, in the *Nation* of 9th October last, has attacked her demonstration in regard to the uses of *ἐν*. He shows that some of the lines which Miss Stawell quotes as examples of uses have been suspected or were read differently by Zenodotus, Dionysius Thrax, Dr. Leaf, or Herr Mülder, while others are tabooed because they occur—or something like them—in other parts of the poems. But surely by the same free treatment we could demolish most of the rules and theories in the *H. G.* itself. Abnormal uses of prepositions are everywhere, as the chapter on the subject in the *H. G.* abundantly shows. Attempts to find different delicate shades of meaning are all affected by what G. Curtius (*Andeutungen*, 34), referring to Giseke's well-known effort, calls a *sehr subjectives Gepräge*. And generally no regard is had to metrical convenience.

But it certainly has its influence. If the poet of K says *ἔειπον ἐν ὑμῖν*, which is objected to, he also says *ταῦτα μετ' Ἀργείοις ἀγορεύεις*, which is good and Iliadic.

Returning to affinity with the *Odyssey*, it cannot be denied that there are parts of the *Iliad* in which the connexion is more marked than in others. In A, as we have seen, it is very conspicuous. The explanation is not far to seek. Several causes could be specified. I confine myself to one—difference of subject-matter. A and I, K, Ψ, Ω, unlike the greater part of the *Iliad*, do not deal with fighting in the field, and we are consequently not surprised to find that their language approximates to that of the poem with the more peaceful theme. To test this I selected a fighting passage from a good fighting book, Λ. I chose lines 210-410, expecting to find but little correspondence between its diction and that of the *Odyssey*. In fact, in these 201 lines there are not more than twelve words and expressions which recur only in that poem. And where do they occur in this part of Λ? Six in a passage, 221-45, in which the poet turns for a moment from the fight to the story of Iphidamas, which contains a series of domestic details, and three in similes, leaving only three for the martial narrative, which is about four-fifths of the whole passage. Here we have in brief the origin of this Odyssean theory.

If, with Miss Stawell, we go further afield and examine the details of Monro's comparison between the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* as wholes, we shall, I think, be forced to her conclusion that no difference that can be deemed significant has been established. If this be so, it does not matter what degree of Odyssean affinity any or all of the books of the *Iliad* exhibit. The section of Dr. Monro's examination which deals with vocabulary is far from convincing. When allowance is made for difference of subject, for which I refer to Colonel Mure's admirable statement (*Hist. Gr. Lit.*, II 131), the residuum that is relevant is extremely small, so small (Friedländer, *op. cit.*, 813 f.) that it may be entirely neglected. As to grammar, Miss Stawell's refutation seems conclusive. I might quote in illustration one item, the strongest, I think, for the Chorizontic case that can be selected. Three uses of the optative are relied on as being confined almost exclusively to the one poem or the other. If such a difference in usage were proved, one might concede its importance. I humbly think they are none of them established. For two of them I refer to Miss Stawell's discussions; in the third case, the optative with *κεν* of an unfulfilled condition, I differ from her. I venture to think, after consulting Goodwin and other authorities, that there is grave reason for questioning the existence of this optative. But if it is accepted as a Homeric usage, it is only necessary to set out the occurrences in the *Iliad*, the poem in which they are supposed to preponderate, and to classify them, to see what the reason is why they are more numerous in the epic of the battle-field.

Here I leave the question for the present; but the hope may be expressed that Miss Stawell's book and Mr. Scott's paper are only the commencement of a discussion which will not cease till this questionable theory has been finally

disposed of. My belief is that it has, like many other notions convenient for the purposes of dissection, grown up and gathered strength, and at last almost attained to the dignity of *chose jugée*, simply because—I think I may say *ἡγεμόνων κακότητι*-— it has never been ' met and fought with outright.'

A. SHEWAN.

P.S.—Since the above was written, Mr. Andrew Lang has, in a recent issue of the *Athenaeum*, asked for an analysis of the Odyssean usages in I. It appears from the statement on pp. 98 ff. of Miss Stawell's work that there are eight. Four are prepositional uses, and these Miss Stawell has disposed of. Another is *ὥστε* with the infin. This occurs once in I, and only once in the *Odyssey* (Miss Stawell, p. 271). For another, ' Final Relative Clauses with the subj.,' see p. 300 of her work. The usage is quite common in her *Original Iliad*. A seventh is '*εἰ* and the opt. after a pres. indic.' It can hardly be called Odyssean, seeing that there are three cases in the *Iliad* and only four in the *Odyssey*. The last is *μὲν οὖν*, once in the *Iliad*, I 550, and five times in the *Odyssey*. There is not much to the debit of I.

A. S.

LATIN WORD STUDIES.

(*Continued from* Vol. III., p. 278.)

2. LATIN *annus*, 'year.'

I still hold firmly to the conviction, already expressed in the *Classical Review* (13,398), that *annus* is a derivative of *agit* 'drives,' and a cognate of *ἀγών* 'dies festus,' though I no longer think I was right in deriving it from *agno-*. Morphologically, the nearest parallel to *annus*, as I now understand it, is Skr. *ájman-* 'Bahn, Zug,' and *annus* is the route, path, cursus of the circling year, cf. *anniuersarius*, *annus circumagitur*, *περιπλομένων* (*περιτελλομένων*) *ἐνιαυτῶν*. I derive it from **agmn-o-s* > **amnos* > *annus*. This assumes a general or special change of *-mn-* to *-nn-* in Latin; if general, the change of *-mn-* after an initial tonic vowel; if special, the change of **amnóna*, say, by assimilation, to *annōna*.[1] But a stage *amno-* would seem to be surely attested by *sollemnis* 'annual,' with the conservative phonetics of a religious word. This phonetic stage also in Osc. *amnud*, 'circuitu, causa,' as I explained in *Classical Review* (13,399). Nor do I think any cogent evidence exists to show that *-mn-* (I do not mean from original *-bn-*) after the tonic vowel of the first syllable did not yield *-nn-*. Sommer's contention (*Gramm.* p. 240), based on *alumnus contemno*, etc., proves nothing: *alumnus* is probably a syncope-form[2] from *alomenos*, and *-temno*[3] was liable to the influence of *contem<p>si*, *contem<p>tus*; nor should I ever dare, in the face of the Sanskrit paradigms for the *-an-* stems, to pronounce the *i* of *nomine* anaptyptic. And, in any case, the paradigm associations of this word disqualify any testimony it might yield for the treatment of *-mn-*; while it is a pure act of volition to derive *fēmina* from *fēmnā*. In sentence samdhi we know, on the testimony of Cicero (*Fam.* 9. 22. 2; *Or.* 154), that in the group *cum nos mn* yielded *nn*; and it can hardly

[1] I do not share Thurneysen's feeling (*Archiv* 13, 27) that *annōna*, if a derivative of *annus*, must first have meant 'Jahresgöttin,' any more than that *matrōna* must first have meant 'muttersgöttin'; nor do I suppose that our tale of Latin words enables us to satisfy such delicate questions of relation between primitive and derivative. But the earliest usage of *annona* is that gathered in the *Thesaurus* under rubric ii., with the definition 'frumenti pretium et mercatus': which leads me to derive *annōna* from **anno+vŏsnā* (: Skr. *vasnám*, 'Kauffreis,' with the vowel colour and gender of *ὠνή*, 'price, purchase-money'), taking *anno-*, of course, in the sense 'anni proventus' (cf. *Thesaurus* s.v. 120, 124), like Gr. *ὥρα=τὰ ὡραῖα* (Xenophon, cf. Liddell and Scott, s.v. iii.), and supposing *annus* to have been originally a sort of harvest-*ἀγών*, celebrating the completed cursus of the year.

[2] See below, p. 87.

[3] If not derived from **tembno* : *στέμβω*.

be possible that, in the phrase tanne arcula tua plena est aranearum, *tanne* is anything but a phonetic writing for *tam*+interrogative *-ne*, and Ribbeck punctuates (Afran. 412) with a question point, though the authorities cited by Festus (*de P.* 542, 26) define *tanne* by 'eo usque' (as though they felt in *-ne* the affirmative force maintained by Warren, *Am. Jr. Phil.* 2. 51 sq.; see also the note of Brix-Niemeyer to Plautus, *Mil.* 310). The testimony of *prunum* (recorded as early as Cato, *R.R.* § 133. 2; and presumably much earlier), borrowed from Greek προῦμνον, makes its weight felt in the same direction: then *gymnasium* will be a learned spelling and pronunciation, subsequently simplified in Varro's *guminasium*.[1] So Quintilian's *colum*[*n*]*a* is a simplification in the direction of *columella*.

Further, *cōnecto* from **comnecto* is to be noted, and *dōnec* from **dŏm* (i.e. *dum*) +*nec*,[2] as material for the determination of the phonetic history of *-m*+*n-*. It should further be noted that secondary *-mn-* later yielded on the Latin inscriptions *-nn-*, as *alonnus* for *alumnus* (v. Sommer, l.c.), cf. Ital. *colonna* <*columna*. In view of all these facts, I can but conclude that no cogent instances are cited to prove that original *-mn-*, after a tonic vowel in the initial syllable, was permanent,[3] while sentence samdhi seems to show that *-m*+*n-* yielded *-nn-*. And now let us look at the evidence in support of the derivation of *annus* from **aĝmnos*[4] 'Bahn, cursus.'

(1) Skr. *ájma-s*, (*a*) 'die Bahn, besonders des Rosses, mit dem aber auch Agni und die Sonne <cf. *RV.* 1. 163. 10> verglichen werden; (*b*) der Zug der Maruts.'

(2) Skr. *ájman-*, same general usage: Lat. *agmen*.

(3) Skr. *jmán* (locative only), quasi 'orbit,' used of the sun in *RV.* 7. 60. 2: ubhé úd eti sū́ryo abhí jmán='ad ambos subit sol in cursu (circuitu).'

(4) Further add, (*a*) *urujman* 'weitläufig' (*AV.* 6. 4. 3, vom Himmel), (*b*) *pṛthujman* 'breitbahnig' (*AV.* 5. 1. 5, of the sun), (*c*) *parijman* (*RV.*) 'herumwandler,' des Windes, des Feuers, und der mit ihm verwandten Sonne.[5]

[1] We can hardly question but *guminasium* was a pronunciation in vogue somewhere or in some social circle, cf. Catullus, 63, 60 *guminasiis*)(63, 64 *gymnasi*.

[2] I advanced this etymology for *dōnec* in *Trans. Am. Phil. Assoc.*, 29. 7-, but it has never, so far as I know, been noticed. I bring it up again only to give a better explanation of *-nec*. The demonstrative *dum* was originally used in pairs (cf. Richardson, *de dum particulae . . . usu*, p. 6, and Lane's *Latin-Gr.*,[2] § 1992), and when the second *dum* became relative its demonstrative correlate fell away. Illustrative examples may be made as follows: haud, desinam (i.e., *dom nec d.) dōnec perfecero hoc (Terence, *Ph.*, 419), 'I shall not stop ⟨the while⟩, the while I shall not have finished this'; Tacitus, *Ann.*, 3, 20, neque (i.e. *dom nec) proelium omisit donec caderet, 'he did not stop fighting ⟨the while⟩, the while he did not fall.' In justification of the negative in *donec*, in addition to the French instance originally cited, cf. Spanish no amé nunca hasta que no ví a V., '*dom nec amaví umquam donec videram te'; es un loco *mientras no* (=quasi 'donec') (se llegue a los céntimos (Valdés); cf. 'me parecía que trascurrería un siglo *desde que no* [=cum+a 'superfluous' non] hablaba con Pastora' (Pardo-Bazán).

[3] Thurneysen (*KZ.*, 30, 493) also denied the retention in Latin of primitive *-mn-*.

[4] With **agmnos* cf. **gʷhermnos* as written by Brugmann, *Grund.*, ii.,[2] § 174; **pelno-* ⟨**pelmno-* (*ib.*, § 181, p. 261); **leuqsmno-* (§ 172, p. 244). According to Joh. Schmidt, *Son. Theor.*, p. 147, **aĝmnós* would yield **aĝmós* and **ájmnos ájnos*, but with the stem **aĝmen* vigorously alive, we may admit the interruption of the normal development of **agmnos*.

[5] These definitions and descriptions are, of course, extracted from Grassmann's and the Petersburg lexica.

(5) ὄγμος,[1] of the orb or orbit of the moon (*h. Hom.* 32. 11) and sun (Aratus, *Phaenom.* 748: Ἥλιος μέγαν ὄγμον ἐλαύνων).

(6) ἀγῶνες, of periodical festivals; cf. ἀγῶνα ἄγειν (τὰ Ὀλύμπια ἄγειν) with Skr. *ājím ajati* 'curriculum instituit.' Note the sense καιρός (=tempus) in ἕδρας ἀγών (Euripides, *Orest.* 1282), where ἀγών has been needlessly corrected to ἀκμή.

(7) Lat. *agonalia*, an annual festival, in honour of Janus, near the beginning of his month (January 9).

These words and locutions so clearly forecast a sense of *cursus*=year, | festival, that I think we need not hesitate to find in *annus* the fully developed sense of 'year,' provided, of course, that we can satisfactorily absolve the phonetic history of *annus*. This I think we may do by writing a base **agm(e)nos*, which for its relation to *agmen*, we may compare with the Greek pair (Aeolic) ἄγωνος : ἀγών. The first change, from **agmnos* to **amnos*, is so natural that we may, nulla re contradicente, admit it without argument; and, in the compound *sollemnis*, we actually find a stem *-amni-*, the preservation of whose *m* will be due to the conservative phonetics of sacred words.[2] We also have the stage *-mn-* in Oscan *amnúd* 'circuitu, von wegen' (see above, p. 81).[3] For the sense of 'festival' in cognates of *agit*, we may note Marruc. *agine* <'in> pompa';[4] cf. also the locution, agere dies festos (*Thes.* i. 1389. 78). Lastly, the gloss *amosio* annuo (Paulus-Festus, *de P.* 19. 35) makes us ask if a stem **āgm(n)o-* 'annus' is to be recognized (cf. exāmen : agmen).

Against the derivation of *annus* from **agmnos*, Umbr. *acnu, peracni- seuacni-* Osc. *akenei, aknu*, will now be placed (cf. e.g. Brugmann, *F.* 17. 492, echoed in *Grundriss* ii.[2] 262), though it is not so very long since they were derived from *acno-* 'sacrificium': *agit*, and Brugmann, who now (l.c.) champions for these dialects the phonetic deduction *kn*<*tn*, formerly (see von Planta, *Gramm.* i. p. 382) set up the descent *gn*>*cn*. Phonetic laws, set up on the basis of a single stem of problematic meaning, do not often win my conviction, and I make the broad assertion that the definition of Osc.-Umbr. *acno-* as 'annus' seems nowhere to be the best definition. Still, so far as the phonetic question goes, the

[1] Leo Meyer's *Gr. Etym.*, i. 516, can be consulted with great advantage on the etymology of ὄγμος. Brugmann (*Grund.*, ii.,[2] p. 246) thinks that ὄγμος cannot be from a *-mno-* stem 'wegen der *o*-Abtönung,' which assumes a knowledge of all the accentual conditions under which **agmno-* might have fallen in composition far beyond our possibility of finding out. Cf. the doublet ἄκρις, ὄκρις (*ib.* § 275 and fn.).

[2] But the *m* may have got into *sollemnis* by some association with the *himus*-group; cf. Skr. *héman- : hiems*.

[3] The compound *amb(i)-egnus*, probably correctly defined by Huschke (ap. Walde, s.v.) as a <'victima> circumacta' (cf. Cato, *R.R.* 141. 2, agrum terram fundumque meum suovetaurilia circumagi iussi), is more likely to contain a *no*-participle stem to *ago* than to be a reduction of *ag(m)no-s*, according to the phonetics maintained for the group *-mn-* by Joh. Schmidt (l.c., p. 101, sq.), but *amb(i)egnus* from *-ag(m)nos* would bear the sense of 'anniculus'; cf. ἀμφιετηρίς, of a yearly festival, ἀμφιετής | ἀμφιέτηρος, 'annuus.'

[4] Connected with the festival are *agonalia* and *agonium* = 'dies appellabatur quo rex <sacrificulus> hostiam immolabat' (Paulus-Festus, p. 7, 31); further cf. agone? = sacruficone? (*Thesaurus*, i. 1390, 37; Varro, *L.L.* 6, 12), whence the later idiom *agere lege*=*occidere* (*Thesaurus*, i. 1388, 17).

[5] In view of Hesychian τέλεια ἱερά· τὰ ἐνιαύσια (cf. *Odyssey*, ii. 454, σῦν ἱερεύσαντες ἐνιαύσιον, 'suem sacruficantes anniculum'), we may realize how a temporal sense might have been reached for *perakni-, sevakni-*, though they started with the sense 'ἀκμαῖος maturus.'

change *cn*<*gn* might be rather safely granted for this stem: *agno-* would be a participle to *ag̑-*, alongside of which would stand *acto-*, and their blending into *acno-* would not be so strange a phenomenon: here cf. Lat. *acnua*, a half-juger of land, which would seem to be a blend of *actus*, also a land measure, +**nova* (: *novāle* fallow-land, ἡ νειός).

But now we must examine the usage of the stem *acno-* in Italic, and seek to establish a sound philological definition for it. The forms, as given by Brugmann, l.c., are Osc. *akeneí* 'in sollemni,' *acunum* 'annorum,' Umbr. *acnu* 'festa, sollemnia,' *per -aknem* <*sevakni-*> 'sollemnem.' Of this list *acnu* ought certainly to fall away. The parallelism of *posti acnu* (v. b, 8, 12) with *pusti kastruvu* (v. a, 22 et al.) 'in fundos' seems to me to leave the interpretation of Bréal (*Tab. Eug.* p. 235 sq.), viz. 'in acnuas,' as the only interpretation of any probability whatever. The passage describes some sort of tribute or honorarium to be paid for a cult purpose, and it is certainly no less likely that the tribute was assessed per measure of land ('in acnuas') than that this (trifling) honorarium was the entire assessment. The interpretation of *perakni-*, and particularly of *sevakni-* (: *sevo-* 'toto-'+*akni* '-emni-') by 'sollemni-' is most enticing, but the evidence that *sollemni-* is a precise rendering is not strong. Take *perakni-*; it occurs 6 times (twice in conjunction with *sevakni-*) in description of sacrificial animals; 1 time it qualifies *sakro-*; 2 times it is used absolutely (sc. 'sacrum'): while in Latin, *sollemnis* seems never to have been used to describe a sacred animal (testibus per silentium, Lewis and Short s.v. *sollemnis*, Thesauro s.vv. *agnus*, *agna*, *bos*). And it seems quite unjustifiable, their usage considered, to separate *perakni-* from *perakri-* (2 times with 'iuvenca,' cf. especially vii. a 51 where iuenga peracrio seems to mean 'iuvencas opimarum'; 8 times with 'bos'; 2 times with 'sacra'). With *perakri-* we ought to feel on safe ground: I connect it with ἄκρος 'praeclarus, summus,' and we might render it, as a sacrificial term, by '*pulcher*' or '*opimus*.' As for *perakni-*, were it not for *sevakni-*, we might deem it a mere doublet, by dissimilation, of *perakri-*; and even so *sevakni-* (for **sevakri-*) might be secondarily modelled on *perakni*. We keep on safe ground, though, if we regard *-akni-* and *-akri-* as cognates with the suffix doublet *-ni-* | *-ri-* (cf. δῶρον: *dōnum*), noting in Greek ἀκμή 'καιρός,' ἀκμαῖος 'opportunus, maturus,' cognate with ἄκρος. The usage of *sevakni-* is as follows: 4 times with names of sacrificial animals, in which cases it may well mean 'maturus' (cf. Juvenal, 12.7: vitulus templis maturus et arae), and has not advanced beyond 'ἀκμαῖος, τέλειος' in sense—1 time, without noun, for 'hostiae'; 1 time each with 'sacrum,' 'unguen,' 'vinum,' 'cibus'; 3 times with 'vascula'; 1 time with 'veru.' This usage reveals no very great advance on the usage of (ἱερὰ) τέλεια,[1] and Pindar has, in fact, τέλειαι ἐυχωλαί. But there remain further examples of *sevakni-* quite generalized to the sense of 'paratus' or 'iustus,' e.g. ii. b 8-9: si perakne sevakne upetu eueietu sevakne naratu [=suem maturum (? -am) τέλειον optato, voveto (?), paratum narrato] . . . eu naratu puze façefele sevakni [=ea (?)

[1] See note 5, p. 82

narrato quasi sacruficabile, iustum (paratum)]; iv. 16, vestiçia mefa . . . sevakne sukatu [=v.? m.? . . . paratam declarato (?)]; iv. 18, super ereçle sevakne skalçeta . . . purtuviθu [=super sacrario parato (°tum) ex-patera . . . porricito]; iii. 25 (27), tiçlu sevakni teitu (naratu) [=dicationem iustam (τὲλειον) dicito (narrato)]. Here our consideration of the usage of *perakni-sevakni-* comes to an end; it seems to me that we account for these words, not merely as well, but very much better, if we explain and define them by ἄκρος, ἀκμαῖος > τέλειος whence, with even greater generalization, 'iustus, paratus.'

Of the Oscan examples, *acunum* (or *agunum*) is found on the Tab. Bant. (von Planta, 17, 31), in the phrase medicim acunum. vi. nesimum magistratum *acno- vi. proximorum.[1] So far as this particular monument is concerned, not only is the reading *agunum* palaeographically allowable (see von Planta, *Gramm.* ii. 602 sq.) but, in view of *acum* 'agere' in the same inscription (l. 24), the theory is tenable that we have *c* misused for *g*. Here, whether *agunum* means specifically 'annorum' or 'ἀγώνων,' we may connect it for its sense directly with ἀγών, and derive it either from *ag(m)no-* or *agōn-*.

As to the abbreviation *akun.* (von Planta, No. 62), it is clear that here we have to do with a space measure, and *akun* may be compared, if square measure, with Lat. *acnua*, if long measure, with ἄκαινα 'decempeda.'

The last example, twice repeated in the Agnone inscription, occurs in a statement (prescription) that something is (or is to be) sacrificed in a sacred garden, and runs as follows (16-19, 44-47): Saahitúm. tefúrúm. alttreí | pútereípíd. akeneí. sakahíter=<in> ara igniaria | sancta crematio <in> altero | utroque *ak(e)no | sanci(a)tur. Here it is believed that *akeneí* designates an interval, whether of space or of time.[2] Our inscription concerns the religious institutions and practices of a sacred grove. Part A. begins, statús. pús. set. húrtín. kerríiín=<: dies, ? di> stati qui sunt in luco Cereali. Hereupon follow fourteen lines (really fifteen, for one is a double line), each ending with the word *statíf* 'statio' following the name of a divinity in the dative. Next come the four lines (16-19) already quoted, followed by *fluusasíaís.* az. húrtúm | sakarater = Floralibus prope lucum sacrificatur. Then come four lines composed of names of divinities (two of them new names) in the dative, followed by *statíf* as before. This gives us nineteen distinct stationes, four outside of the hortus sacer. Part B. recites that altars stand to the same fifteen divinities (with the rank of No. 3 and of No. 5, as it stands in A, transposed); and lines 44-47 repeat 16-19, while 48, húrz. dekmanniúís. staít=lucus decumaniis (?) stat seems to start out to give the same sort of information, relative to some special celebration in the garden, as lines 20-21.

[1] Has anyone noted that Walde, s.v. *acnua*, credits Thurneysen with the rendering 'der nächsten sechs Tage' (lege Jahren)? This made me, before looking up the passage cited, ask myself if we had to recognize a weak stem *aĝhn-* varying, thanks to loss of aspiration before nasals, with *aĝn-*: Skr. *áhan-*, 'day.'

[2] Unless the *ara igniaria* had, each in a compartment of its own, two fires (cf. Fay, *Class. Rev.* 13, 397; and for the fact Stengel in Iw. Müller's *Handbuch*, v. 3, p. 16).

It is a pity that we have so little precise and concrete knowledge of a *lucus sacer*, with its arrangement into *stationes*. The number fifteen, so close to sixteen, makes one think of a *templum observationis*, such as Nissen has constructed (see Schreiber's *Atlas*, Plate XIX., No. 15), if a ground projection of such a templum is conceivable. Or have we here a rustic group of fifteen *di consentes?* Varro, *R.R.* 1.1.4 sq., invokes, in contradistinction to the *di consentes urbani*, a group of twelve gods and goddesses, not equally divided for sex, qui maxime agricolarum duces sunt. May such a group at Agnone have consisted of fifteen, rather than of the traditional twelve divinities; and the place for their worship have been arranged, in a general way, like the *porticus deorum Consentium* at Rome? For the *stationes* I think of pillar-and-tree shrines, such as are seen in Pompeian frescoes; and our inscription may belong, in fact, to the old Oscan religious tradition which Dr. Evans would see in these frescoes (see his *Mycenaenan Tree and Pillar Cult*, p. 30=128). It is quite consistent to believe that in a group of stationes of this kind, a portable altar for burnt offerings, a *foculus plicatilis*, was employed at certain seasons, or set up in certain conventional spots. If this be assumed, the other altars mentioned in Part B. of the inscription were not fire-altars, and their presence did not exclude the use of a foculus. The *foculus* and *ara* were similarly distinct in the Arval worship (see Henzen, *Acta*, p. 23). To a movable *foculus* we may apply the words of lines 16-19=44-47. The sacrifice on the foculus took place *alttreí. pútereípíd. akeneí.* Could this have meant, as it seems becoming more and more understood to mean, <'in> altero quôque anno'? I do not believe it: I stand squarely for the interpretation (=transposition) of *alttreí pútereípíd* as <'in> altero utroque,' and illustrate altero utroque by Pliny, *N. H.*, 20, 64, 'in causa alterutraque modus est.' Nor do I see the least relevance in citing, in support of the translation 'in altero quôque,' Columella, 5. 8. 2: nam quamvis <olea> non continuis annis, sed fere altero quoque fructum afferat, etc. *Quisque* with numerals is normal enough Latin, but *pútereípís* is not *quisque*, but *uterque*. And, with the rendering 'in altero utroque,' our text becomes clearly a prescript to make an offering on a foculus igniarius at either, and not every other, of two *acnos's:* whether 'in alter(o) utroque die festo,' or 'in alter(o) utroque loco sacro,' is not clear. If the latter be the correct interpretation, I would explain the stem *ak^{e}no-* morphologically by citing Skr. *áçan-* (=*áçman-*) 'cliff, stone,' *áçna-* 'stone';[1] but semantically rather by ἄκρον, 'summit'; ἀκμή, 'tip.' As the *lucus deae Diae* had one summit (Henzen, l.c. xx, § 22, p. 26), so our *lucus Cerealis* may have had two, whether natural summits or artificial (symbolic) mounds makes no matter. Or the stem *ak^{e}no* may mean, outright, 'ἄκμων,' and refer to divine meteorites worshipped in the *lucus Cerealis;* cf. *Iuppiter lapis* and the *Martis lapis manalis* of Paulus-Festus (*de P.*, 93); and, among the Greeks, the ἀργὸς λιθος of Zeus Kappôtas (see Evans, l.c. p. 20=118) and the Kronos' stone at Delphi (see Roscher's *Lexikon*, ii., col. 1522, § 44, and Pausanias

[1] Cf. also Skr. *ā́çā*, Raum, Gegend. Himmelsgegend, perhaps cognate with Skr. *áçman-* in the sense of 'Himmel'; cf. Hesychius, ἄκμων, κρόνος, οὐρανός.

there cited:[1] *Λίθος ἐστὶν οὐ μέγας· τούτου καὶ ἔλαιον ὀσημέραι καταχέουσι καὶ κατὰ ἑορτὴν ἑκάστην ἔρια ἐπιτιθέασι τὰ ἀργά*; further cf. the scholiast to Lykophron 399, *δίσκος γὰρ ὁ Ζεύς*). That two holy stones should have maintained their sanctity in the cult of a remote village is no cause for surprise; nor need we suppose, in view of the number of holy bones and splinters and even coats now extant, that the stones were genuine meteorites.

To conclude, I not only see no philological necessity for interpreting the Italic stem *akno-* (in compounds *-akni-*) anywhere by '*annus*,' but the weight of philological probability seems to me decidedly against the interpretation by '*annus*.' If, however, to others it seems otherwise, we may still define *akno-* by 'sacrificium,' and yet assign to it a derivation not involving us in any haute phonétique ad hoc. The range of semantic possibility in the development of the sense of 'time' is so vast. I do not control the folklore literature, but I recall that in the South Seas a *year* is a 'yam.'[2] It would, in the appropriate American localities, take little to convert 'next huckleberries' or 'next blackberries' (cf. blackberryin'-time, huckleberryin'-time) into a definite season. The May-haw, in the parish where I was born, was a wild fruit and a sign of spring. So in the ancient Ceres cult, the berries might have been regarded as a sort of first-fruits, and remained symbolic of pre-agricultural times; and the further we go back, the more important the wild berries become. Thus, what is there unreasonable in connecting *ak^{e}no-* with *acinus* 'berry,' and defining it as a quasi vindémiaire (< *vindemiae* 'vintage-season')? And it need not surprise us to recognize two berry seasons in the year, just as there were two Vinalia; and *acinus* is applicable to the spring berries, and later on to the grape and autumnal berries. Besides, there were, at Rome, not merely two, but four, Ceres' festivals—the ludi Cereales (12-19, April), and the sacrum anniversarium Cereris in midsummer; add, after 191 B.C., the *ieiunium Cereris* (October 4), and a *lectisternium* (December 13).

Nor does this exhaust the etymological possibilities for *akeneí*='in festo, in anno.' In the Roman religious ritual a nail (clavus) was driven symbolic of the new year,[3] and one is prone, in the lack of evidence, to fancy it a new nail, made on a new anvil. So we might define *akeno-* by 'nail, point' (: *ἄκων*, *ἄκις*, Lat. *acus*, unless we rather think of the anvil (*ἄκμων*) on which the nail was forged). Or *akno-* may even have meant 'stone' outright, in view of the Roman use of stones in counting (cf. the lexica, s.vv. calculus, calculo, lapis).

[1] Greek *χρόνος*, for which no convincing etymon is offered, may well be a secondary form of *κρόνος*, with *χ-* due to association with some lost member of the *χιών-* group; cf. *χίμαιρα* : Lat. *-himus* in *bimus*, 'two-year-old.' The identification of *χρόνος* with *κρόνος* by the Greeks themselves is well attested, not only by literary instances, but by an inscription of the fifth century B.C. (cf. citations in Roscher's *Lexicon*, ii., col. 1546).

[2] It is not certain that 'year' rather than 'young animal' is the primary signification of WETOS. The year may have been named from the 'calf-time' or 'lamb-time'; or, conversely, the young animal was named 'anniculus.'

[3] The religious rite had its popular application also; cf. Petronius, 135, 8, 8-9:

> at paries circa palea satiatus inani
> fortuitoque luto clavos numerabat agrestes

where 'numerabat clavos' can hardly mean merely 'clavos frequentes habebat.'

Synopsis and Index.

(1) **agmno-* 'cursus' in Osc. *amnud* 'circuitu, von wegen' (cf. Lat. *sollemnis*), Lat. *annus* 'iter <solis'>: Osc. *agunum* (if='annorum').

(2) From a root AK- (cf. *ἄκρος* 'prime,' *ἀκμή* 'tip'), Umbr. *per-akni-*, *sev-akni-* '*ἀκμαῖος, τέλειος*; paratus, iustus'; Osc. *akun.*, cf. *ἄκαινα* 'decempeda'; Osc. *akeneí* '*ἐν τῷ ἄκρῳ*'; Umbr. *acnu* 'acnuas.'

(3) On *amb(i)egnus* see p. 82, n. 3; on *dōnec* from **dŏm nec*, p. 81, n. 2.

We may now pass to some additional evidence, for the sound change *(g)mn* yields *nn.*

(3) Latin *concinnat; concinnus, cinnus.*

What was the normal phonetic history of inherited *-mn-* in Latin? In *tanne* from *tamne*, *prunum* from *προῦμνον*, *dōnec* from **dom nec*, *cōnectere* from **comnectere* it would seem (see p. 81, above) that, at a relatively early period, *-mn-*, after the tonic vowel of the initial syllable, yielded *-nn-*[1]—all of which proves nothing for proethnic -MN-, retention of which in Latin is now claimed for *alumnus aerumna* and a few kindred formations that used to be explained by syncope from *alom(e)nos*, etc. The explanation by syncope is, I believe, still tenable; nor, in the determination of the treatment of the rhythmic group ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏒, do I allow any weight to the treatment of -⏑ ⏒ in *fēmina flēmina* (pace Ciardi-Dupré, *BB.* 26, 202). The explanation of *Minerva* from **Menesova*, of *veternus* 'lethargy' (suffix as in *somnus*), from **vetesn̥nos*, of *adultus* from **adolitos* seems to me convincing. Of course, note must be taken here of the sonant character of the consonant preceding the syncopated penultimate vowel. And it will not be justifiable to impugn *alumnus*, reduced from **alomenos* (⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏒) because of the different treatment of *legimini*. In verb flexion the 'suffix' *-mini* was rhythmically variable, legiminī (⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏒), but also *legāmini*, *legēmini* (⏑ – ⏑ ⏒). But we may, without resort to syncope of the type, ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏒ yields ⏑ – ⏒, explain the reduction of words like *alumnus* under the very strict conditions for syncope laid down by Professor Exon (*Hermathena*, 14, p. 138). In nearly all the cases the syncope may have originated in a derivative, and thence been taken up by the principal, as follows:

aerumna: aerumnósus. autumnus: autumnális. Vertumnus: Vertumnália.

Names of divinities like *Vitumnus*, *Valumnus*, *Picumnus* are obviously late and secondary. In their function as children's deities, *Picumnus* and *Pilumnus*, as well as *Valumnus*, may be regarded as scions of *Vitumnus*, the life-giver; and *Vitumnus* may well have been modelled on *Autumnus*, the increaser, who in his turn goes back to *Vertumnus*. But *Pilumnus*, the comes Martius, should not be separated from *pilumnus* in Paulus-Festus's *pilumnoe poploe* in carmine saliari Romani, velut pilis uti assueti, vel quia praecipue pellant hostis (*de P.* p. 244,

[1] A reason for *ōn* instead of *ŏnn* is yet to seek.

24). It is very ingenious when Ciardi-Dupré (l.c.) explains the sense of the suffix *-mno-* as it here appears by comparing the suffix *tus* in *auritus*, etc., but it is not very convincing. I derive *pilumnoe* from the stem *pilo-*, compounded with a stem *-bno-* 'feriens,' an interior form of the Latin root *fen-* in *-fen-dit* 'strikes.' It is quite immaterial to us whether we connect this *fen-* with Skr. *hanti*, 'caedit,' or with O. Ir. *benim*, 'ferio' (: O. Bulg. *biti*, 'ferire,' cf. Lat. *per-fines* 'perfringas'; so Brugmann, *Gr.* 1^2 § 566). The type of compound corresponds precisely with the type of Skr. *daṇḍaghnas* 'pilô-feriens.' Thus *Pilumnus*, the comes Martius, interpreted as a 'pike-striker' (pike-man[1]), affords, along with *Vertumnus*, which seems certainly a participle formation to *vertit*, a second source for the suffix *-mnos* in names of divinities; and it is curious, to say the least of it, that *Picumnus* has already been glimpsed in Osc. *Píkúfu*$_{***}$ (von Planta's No. 60).

The conditions for syncope are not so propitious as regards *alumnus;* for *alumnule*, with which Schoell, followed by Lindsay, restores the metre in Plautus, *Merc.* 409, hardly justifies the assumption of **alóm(e)nule* (with accentuation of the *múlierem* type); nor is *alom(e)nús meus* (cf. Ferger de Voc. usu. Plautino, etc., p. 3 sq.; and Lindsay, *Captivi*[2] p. 366 on volŭptásmea) particularly plausible. But, besides *alumnórum*, we have for the feminine the forms *alum(e)nárum* (Plautus) and **alumnái*, **alumnábus*,[2] wherein syncope is justified.

There remain *columna, intercolumnium : columen* and *calumnia : *calūmen* (according to Ciardi-Dupré, l.c., accepted by Brugmann, *Gr.* ii.[2] § 172), but also derived from **calvomnia* (cf. Walde, s.v.). The retention of *mn* where a parallel stem in *men* existed is, of course, no proof that the normal product of *-mn-* in Latin was not *-nn-*. But supposing **căl(v)óměnĭă* to have been the initial form, the reduction to *calúmniátor* from **cal(v)ô-meniátor* (⏑ ⏑[⏑]⏑ ⏑ ⏑); cf. Plautine *balneator* (2) : *balineator* (1).[3]

Other examples of apparently original *mn* in Latin have been disposed of above. That *damnum* is a participle of *dare* (so Brugmann, l.c., § 161) is by no means certain; and if so, syncope would normally have taken place in *dam(i)návit*, etc. Granting this derivation of *damnum*, we must equally grant that this form also contains a cognate of δαπάνη, according to the older explanation (cf. Stolz, in *Hdbch.*[3] p. 90), else we cannot well account for Plautine *damnósus* 'extravagant.'

A word of caution may here be spoken touching the confidence with which scholars ascribe Lat. *alumnus* and Avest. *yazamna-* to a proethnic type in *-omnos*. There is no certainty whatever that the like effects proceed from an identical cause. To the Latin instances the explanation by syncope may

[1] It is curious that *-mnos* lends itself to comparison with Skr. *mánus*, 'man.'

[2] Mommsen, *Corp.* v. 1685, reads *alumn* ⟨ *a* ⟩ *bus;* and *Corp.* xii. 4563 add. has a dat. sg. fem ⟨ *a* ⟩ *luminí* (? with erroneous *i* in the penult), which makes one wonder if an **alomen*, something like *flāmen* and Skr. *brahmán-*, ever existed.

[3] Lindsay's text reads at *Poen.* 703 *balineator*, without critical note; whereas Goetz and Schoell, edit. minor, report only *balniator* for A., and *balneator* for the Palatini.

well be applied; and many a phonetic change not subject to our control may have taken place in the long passage from the primitive race unity to the fixation of the Avestan dialect. The nature of one of these may be illustrated from Greek as follows: setting up, e.g. a pair like *στάμνος*, 'pitcher': **στάμενος* (cf. *θέμενος*, *δόμενος*), we might expect eventually the pair **ἱσταμνος*: *ἱστάμενος* and **διδομνος*: *διδόμενος* and, at last, even **λυομνος* · *λυόμενος*: the eventual predominance of the **λυομνος* type in Avestan would be due to some preference for the rhythmic type ∪ – ∪̄ over ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪̲.

A final settlement of the treatment of -MN- in Latin is, with the facts at our command, not likely to be reached till some word etymology, involving an indubitable -MN-, meets with general acceptance. I now present an explanation for Latin *concinnat* which, it seems to me, gives a complete and more definite account of both form and meaning than any now extant.[1] The present explanation starts with *con-cinnat*, not as a denominative, but as a compound verb of nasal flexion to which the adjective *concinnus* will be a deverbative. And now the material for comparison, all of it from a base K̂É(Y)M:

Skr. 1 *çam-*, with a good and early variant, *çim-*, 'arbeiten beim cultus; zurichten, zubereiten.' With this sense *concinnat* = *apte componit* (Paulus-Festus) minutely corresponds; note *çamitár-* 'zurichter, zerleger des geschlachteten thiers; koch, zubereiter,' comparing the second definition with the use of *concinnat* in Plautus, *Men.*, 101 sq.:

> Cerialis cenas dat; ita mensas exstruit,
> tantas struices concinnat patinarias.

Further note *havíḥ çamīṣva* = quasi 'pultem concinna.'

Skr. 2 *çam-*, *çamáyati* 'beruhigt, stillt'; semantically near is *οἱ κεκμότες* 'quieti-facti, mortui,' cf. *κοιμᾷ* 'soporat.'

Skr. 3 *çam-*, *çamnīte* 'nocet'; *çamanam* 'das zu nichte machen, tödten, schlachten.' Here compare Naevius ap. *Non.*, 90. 25:

> transit Melitam Romanus, insulam integram <oram>
> urit, populatur, uastat, rem hostium concinnat.

As examples for the *i*- vocalism in Sanskrit I cite *çimas* 'zurichter, zerleger des geschlachteten fleisches,' and *çímī* = 1 *çámī* 'Bemühung, Fleiss, Werk.'

In Lat. *cinnus* '*κυκεών*' the simplex is found. The *cinnus* was a mixture, a compound, but originally only a 'praeparatio' (cf. medicinal preparation = compound), a 'confectio' (defined by a glossist as 'mixta species medicamenti),' cf. Fr. *confection* 'électuaire,' Ital. *confetti*, Eng. *confectionery*. The *cinnus* was a 'made- [drink'], cf. Eng. *made-dish*, Germ. *(ein)gemachtes*.

[1] I refer here to CLASSICAL QUARTERLY, 1,281 ff., where I have connected *concinnat* and its kin with the root of *caedit*. The semantic connection there effected I believe to be sound, but an etymology dependent on a morphological reconstruction can never satisfy as thoroughly as an etymology supported by a verbal identity in two different languages.

4. Latin *vannus*, 'winnowing fan.'

As we have in Greek a form στάμνος derived from the root STĀ, so we might have expected a form *Ϝαμνος to the root WĒ- 'to blow,' I would see this form in Lat. *vannus*, from **wə-mnos:* but Sohnsen's **wət-nos:* Lith. *vẽtyti* 'ventilare' remains tenable.

5. Latin *pannus.*

The explicit definitions of *pannus* seem to me to be (1) 'patch' (Terence and Horace); (2) 'band, fillet'; (3) 'package' (Petronius 135). From these definitions hardly any other original sense than 'that which fastens (up')' can be inferred. I therefore derive *pannus* from **pag-mnos: pangit* fastens (pf. *pēgi*). Of kindred origin, but with some difference in gradation or morphology (cf. *agmen*, *examen*), is *pānicula* 'tuft, bunch.' This separates *pannus* from πηνός 'web,' and connects it with πάγη 'net' (fowling-net).

EDWIN W. FAY.

SIGNATURES IN THE VATICAN CODEX OF LIVY'S THIRD DECADE.

The Vatican codex (Reg. 762) of Livy's third decade is, like the Colbertine at Paris (Bibl. Nat. 5731), obviously a direct copy of the uncial codex, Puteanus (Bibl. Nat. 5730), and though useless for supplying the mutilations of P at the beginning and end of the decade (which C has fortunately given us), and though inferior to C in other respects, as seemed to me from a hasty perusal of it, the Roman codex has a unique interest of its own: every quaternion seems to have been signed by the scribes, and the quaternions divided out among eight scribes. With the exception of the Medicean MS. (xix 63) of the first decade, no Livian MS. of the ninth to the eleventh centuries has any signatures, or so plainly shows the allotment of the task of copying. The Medicean has one signature—Leo diac(onus)—at the end of quat. x; and Prof. Conway has shown by examination of the handwriting that the task of copying the decade was divided probably among three scribes. Nothing of the sort, as I gather from Mr. A. C. Clark, is known in the MSS. of Cicero; nor have I heard anything like it in any other MSS. of this date.

In spite of the mutilations at the beginning and end of the Vatican codex and the binder's cuttings of the original length of the folia, sufficient evidence, especially from quaternions xxv to xxxv, remains, I think, to justify me in drawing the conclusions that the MS. originally had forty-two quaternions (*nominally*); and that there were eight scribes, with an average of five and a quarter quaternions apiece divided as follows:

Quaternions.

i-vi Girlarx; of which alone remain fol. 1-6 as now numbered—i.e. there are about 34 fol. missing.
[Signature 'Girlarx, vi' on fol. 6 verso, bottom margin.]

vii Aldo (?) = fol. 7-12.

viii-xii Aldo = fol. 13-52 (fol. 15 verso is blank).
[Signature on fol. 16, 32, 40, 52 verso.]

xiii-xviii (xviii has 5 fol. only) Fredeḡ = fol. 53-97.
[Signature on fol. 60, 68 (erased), 76, 84 (xvi), 92 (xvii), 97.]

xix-xx Nauto = fol. 98-111.
[Signature on fol. 108 (xviiii) and 111 (xx).]

xxi-xxii Theogrīn̄ and TheogrimN̄ = fol. 112-127.
xxiii-xxiv (?) Theogrimn̄ = fol. 128-141.
[Signature on fol. 119 (xxi) and 127 (xxii).]
xxv-xxx Theodēgri and Theodegrī = fol. 142-185.
(first) (rest)
[Signature on fol. 149, 157 (erased), 165 (xxvii), 173 (xxviii), 179 (number of quaternion cut), 185 (xxx).]
xxxi-xxxv Ansoald̄ = fol. 186-228.
[Signature on fol. 193 (xxxi), 201 (xxxii), 209 (xxxiii), 217 (xxxiiii), and 228 (number gone).]

(The writing plainly changes on last page (228 verso) of Ansoald, and is very like that of Floriacensis (Livy 1-10), Paris 5725, which is also attributed to the ninth century.)

Quaternions.
xxxvi-xxxviii Luxidemaris = fol. 229-50.
[Signature on fol. 236 (xxxvi), 242 (xxxvii), 250 (xxxviii).]
of xxxix 7 fol. remain = fol. 251-257 (but perhaps numbered wrongly).
There are about 22 fol. missing (after Bk. xxx, C. 59. 7 amplexus) — i.e. the rest (if any) of quaternion xxxix, and quaternions xl-xlii.

Thus the names at the end of the quaternions, which I take to be signatures, are Girlarx, Aldo, Fredeḡ, Nauto, Theogrimn̄, Theodegrin̄, Ansoald̄, Luxidemaris.

There are further other signatures (?), all seemingly of later revisers, who in some cases have shown their own *ὑπερηφανία* by obliterating the earlier names:

thus on fol. 68 verso Fredeḡ is erased and
Ragenard̄ is put later (tenth century ?);
verso 157 b (or h) auoxie (?), erased as well as theodegrī;
„ 173 bauo [illegible] (black ink and smudge).
„ 201 Teutlaicus in black ink (tenth century ?), who is perhaps the writer of the corrections on fol. 225.
„ 236 iuinus (black ink);

and others I fancy, which the early-closing rule for Easter prevented me from noting fully; besides others on the first page of a recto, such as—

recto 69 fol. Vualeramn̄us,
recto 112 hedelfred̄,
recto 120 traliuu;

but of these, with my limited time, I took little notice.

W. C. F. Walters.

NOTES ON ANTIPHON ΛΟΓΟΣ ΠΕΡΙ ΜΕΤΑΣΤΑΣΕΩΣ.

THE text of the lately discovered fragment of Antiphon's last and greatest speech, as restored by Professor Nicole,[1] has been used by its editor to sanction some novel theories regarding the orator's public career.

In Fr. I. col. 1 the papyrus is made to read as follows: *ἆρ' οὖν . . . δίκην ἐπιρρέπουσαν ἐδεδοίκειν ; οὐ δήπου, εἴγε ἐπεὶ οὐδέν μοι ἦν τούτων, ἄλλως χρήματα ἀφείλεσθε ἐμοῦ πολλά, ὡς τῶν προγόνων τῶν ἐμῶν κακόν τι εἰργασμένων ὑμᾶς.*

On the strength of the words *ἄλλως χρήματα ἀφείλεσθε ἐμοῦ* Nicole concludes that Antiphon was impeached after the fall of the Four Hundred on two separate occasions, and that the first accusation, to which the defendant made reference in the above words on the occasion of his second trial, was of a kite-flying character (*ἄλλως*), being chiefly intended to measure the strength of public feeling against him.

This exposition, which if true would throw a very strange light upon the Athenian Government of the Restoration, and indeed would cancel Thucydides' description of it as an eminently sensible one,[2] has had its entire foundation withdrawn by a *varia lectio* of Professor Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, suggested without further comment in a review of Nicole's work :[3] *ἆρ' οὖν . . . ἐδεδόικειν ; οὐ δὴ τοῦτό γε, ἐπεὶ οὐδέν μοι ἦν τούτων. ἀλλ' ὡς χρήματα ἀφείλεσθε ; κ.τ.λ.*

Here it will be seen that under the form of a negative question (*ἀλλ' ὡς*, etc.) the incident on which Nicole bases his theory is removed from the sphere of reality.

This emendation not merely resolves a complicated Isocratic period into a loose series of antithetical clauses such as one would expect from Antiphon, but if further altered in l. 13 so as to read *οὐ δῆτ' ἔγωγε* instead of *οὐ δὴ τοῦτό γε* it accords perfectly with the palaeographical data as revealed in the facsimile appended to Nicole's text. In view therefore of the certainty of the correction and of its historical significance it may be permitted to bring it into notice in the pages of this review.

Another startling addition to our knowledge concerning Antiphon is derived from Fr. III. col. 4 ll. 5-8: *ἐπειδὴ δὲ [ἐγὼ ϵ]ἰργασάμην* (better *[ἐξε]ιργασάμην*), *οὐ τέχνῃ, ξῇ ὅλας.*

[1] Jules Nicole, *L'Apologie d'Antiphon ou* Λόγος Περὶ Μεταστάσεως (Bâle, Genève : Georg et Cie., 1907).

[2] Thuc. viii. 97.

[3] *Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, 1907, No. 40, col. 2520.

From this passage it is inferred that during the period of oligarchical administration in 411 B.C. Antiphon created a *fleet* of 68 sail. But—

(*a*) the term *εἰργασάμην* denotes the function of a shipwright rather than of a naval commissioner.

(*b*) The words '*οὐ τέχνῃ*' have no proper place in the context assumed by Nicole's theory. There is no point in Antiphon saying that he launched his fleet 'not as an expert,' for the Athenian *ἀποστολῆς* never were professional mariners.

(*c*) Since the bulk of the Athenian fleet in spring 411 was in the hands of the democrats at Samos Antiphon's squadron of 68 must have consisted mostly of new units. But it is hard to see how a Government which only lasted four months, and was distracted by numerous other matters of urgency, could have built a fleet of some 50 men-of-war from keel to masthead.

(*d*) In autumn 411, when the Athenians made a desperate effort to rescue Euboea from a Peloponnesian armament, their total fleet only numbered 36.[1] What then had become of Antiphon's spick-and-span squadron of 68?

The whole difficulty raised by Nicole's interpretation may be avoided by understanding as the object of *εἰργασάμην* not *ναῦς* but *ῥήσεις*. In this case Fr. III. may be taken as continuing the argument of Fr. I. col. 3: after pointing out that a Democratic Government favoured his activity as a *λογογράφος* Antiphon proceeds to enumerate the speeches which he composed 'not as technical exercises,' i.e. for forensic purposes.

The list of orations which Blass[2] ascribes with certainty to Antiphon gives a total of about 35. But the tradition which survived until the first century B.C., that Antiphon composed 60 speeches in all,[3] makes it probable enough that the real total may have been 68.

The following emendations, though devoid of historical importance, may be worth giving as founded on a comparison of the facsimile with Nicole's text:

1. In Fr. I. col. 3 the following reading is given: (*ἐν μὲν τῇ ὀλιγαρχίᾳ οὐκ ἂν ἐκέρδαινον ἀπὸ τοῦ συγγράφειν δίκας ἄλλοις*), *ἐν δὲ τῇ δημοκρατίᾳ κάθηται ὁ κρίτης. εἰ δ' | εἰμὶ ἐγὼ εἰδὼς | τοῦ λέγειν, ἐν μὲν τῇ ὀλιγαρχίᾳ, κ.τ.λ.*

There are two weak points in this reconstruction.

(*a*) The words '*κάθηται ὁ κρίτης*,' besides being an unusual mode of expression—the idiom would seem to require *καθέστηκε τὰ δικαστήρια*,—do not supply the requisite sense. Antiphon's object is to prove his prosperity as a *λογογράφος* under the Democracy. Is this made sufficiently clear by saying 'under the Democracy *the courts are open*'?

(*b*) Col. 3 of Fr. I. has an average number of 10 to 11 letters to a line, and in no legible part of it does the total exceed 12. Nicole's text, however, assigns no less than 13 letters each to ll. 2 and 3.

[1] Thuc. viii. 94-5.

[2] *Die attische Beredsamkeit*, I². p. 107.

[3] Caecilius of Calacte in ps.-Plutarch, *Vita Antiphontis*, § 16.

A suitable variant may here be provided by reading [ἐν δὲ τῇ δη | μ]οκρ-[ατίαι κ]αὶ ὁ κρ[άτιστ'] | εἰμὶ ἐγὼ εἰδὼς | τοῦ λέγειν. This gives a suitable number of letters to each line (l. 2, though containing only 9 letters, tallies exactly with l. 11 below), and brings out Antiphon's meaning with all the emphasis that can be wished for.

2. The reading in Fr. I. col. 3 l. 12—ἐφέρ[ε] δὴ πῶς εἰκός—is clearly inadmissible. The first ε cannot be deleted, as it appears quite plainly in the papyrus, but the letter following upon εφ can be discerned as ω. This suggests ἐφ' ὧν δὴ πῶς εἰκὸς as the correct text.

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BAULI THE SCENE OF THE MURDER OF AGRIPPINA.

ANCIENT writers tell conflicting stories of the last hours of Agrippina, the mother of Nero. Modern commentators have been equally at variance in their attempts to harmonize them. A consideration, however, of all the evidence makes a reasonable account of the tragedy seem even yet possible. Naturally, most confidence has been put in the more circumstantial narrative of Tacitus. After telling us in the *Annals*, XIV. 3. 5-7, of the ship which Anicetus contrived for the destruction of Agrippina, he continues in chapter 4:

> Placuit sollertia, tempore etiam iuta, quando Quinquatrum festos dies apud Baias frequentabat. Illuc matrem elicit. . . . Venientem dehinc obuius in litora (nam Antio aduentabat) excepit manu et complexu ducitque Baulos. Id uillae nomen est quae promunturium Misenum inter et Baianum lacum flexo mari adluitur. Stabat inter alias nauis ornatior, tamquam id quoque honori matris daretur: quippe sueuerat triremi et classiariorum remigio uehi. Ac tum inuitata ad epulas erat ut occultando facinori nox adhiberetur. Satis constitit extitisse proditorem et Agrippinam auditis insidiis, an crederet ambiguam, gestamine sellae Baias[1] prouectam. Ibi blandimentum subleuauit metum: comiter excepta superque ipsum collocata. Iam pluribus sermonibus, modo familiaritate iuuenili Nero et rursus adductus, quasi seria consociaret, tracto in longum conuictu, prosequitur abeuntem.

From chapter 5 we learn that the ship had not gone far on its way to Bauli,[2] when, after an unsuccessful attempt to kill Agrippina by means

[1] The reading of almost every editor for the *Baulos* of the MSS.; Tacitus states clearly that Nero was at Baiae. So, too, Suetonius, *Ner.* 34, 'iucundissimis litteris Baias euocauit ad sollemnia Quinquatruum simul celebranda.' Dio's obviously careless narrative fails to tell us where Agrippina lodged—we have only his indefinite οἴκαδε (LXI. 13. 2)—but states (LXI. 13. 1) that when they reached Bauli, he gave for several days most costly dinners; i.e., at that place, it would seem, unless we assume a lacuna in the Greek text in which some mention of Baiae once stood. As a matter of fact, Dio says nothing of Baiae anywhere in his account. The Pseudo-Senecan *Octavia*, 314-315: 'properant placidos linquere portus iussi nautae,' point, perhaps, to the Portus Baiarum as the place of departure, and to Baiae, therefore, as the scene of the banquet. In spite of all these passages, Nissen (*Italische Landeskunde*, II. p. 736) will have it that Nero's palace was nowhere near Baiae at all, but to the east of Punta Caruso, near Puteoli. His archaeological evidence from 'die Glasgefässe' (p. 736 note 2) is not acceptable, because the one on which he depends, with little doubt represents the Baian coast. See Beloch, *Campanien*, pp. 184, 185.

[2] The words of Suetonius (*Ner.* 34) are: 'repetentique Baulos.' Since the *mater Caerellia* in Martial, IV. 63 was no doubt a real person, we cannot even for the sake of an exact parallelism make her perish from a boat that was going in precisely the same direction as the *solutilis nauis*

of a falling roof, she and her companion, Acerronia, were thrown into the sea.

> Verum Acerronia, inprudentia dum se Agrippinam esse utque subueniretur matri principis clamitat contis et remis et quae fors obtulerat naualibus telis conficitur: Agrippina silens eoque minus adgnita (unum tamen uulnus umero excepit) nando deinde occursu lenunculorum Lucrinum in lacum uecta, uillae suae infertur.

The interpretation of these chapters depends upon the location of Bauli. Since our most important authorities on the geography of this region (Nissen, *Italische Landeskunde*, vol. ii. p. 733; and Beloch, *Campanien*, 2nd edit., pp. 201 f.) are in total disagreement, we cannot be surprised that editors of Tacitus are in the same state. I believe, however, that a more careful analysis of the Tacitean story, and a fresh study of the numerous passages that concern the place, will determine the site of Bauli definitively. Of the two existing theories, one puts it north of Baiae, on or near the Punta dell' Epitafio; another south of Baiae, between it and Cape Misenum, about where the modern village of Bacoli stands. This second view I shall discuss first.

As will be seen, Bauli is not merely the name of a villa in the narrower sense of that word, but apparently of the locality in which the country-place was situated. Tacitus says that the villa lay at a bend in the shore between the *Baianus lacus* and the promontory of Misenum. Now, if Bauli lay north of Baiae, between it and the Lucrine Lake, the reader might expect the historian to name, not the promontory of Misenum, but Baiae itself, as his southern limit; for this world-famous watering-place would be a much nearer landmark. Furthermore, on the theory that Bauli was north of Baiae, *Baianus lacus* must mean the Lucrine Lake. Since, however, Tacitus just below, at the end of chapter 5, calls the lake by its ordinary name, *Lucrinum in lacum*, it may be somewhat plausibly suggested that his *Baianus lacus* signifies 'the innermost portion of the bay, that enclosed between Baiae and Puteoli,'[1] or possibly even the Portus Baiarum itself.[2] Now, between the southern limits of the Baian shore and Cape Misenum, the sea forms near Bacoli a slight bay that could be described by the *flexo mari* of Tacitus, which washed the villa of Bauli. Early scholars even saw an etymological connection between the words Bacoli and Bauli, but this needs no refutation now. An argument for this location of Bauli is sought in Tacitus' account of Agrippina's burial (*Annals*, XIV. 9. 2): 'cremata est nocte eadem conuiuali lecto et exsequiis uilibus; neque, dum Nero rerum potiebatur, congesta aut clausa humus. Mox

had taken; it suffices that the *aquae* (vs. 4) were the same:

> Dum petit a Baulis mater Caerellia Baias,
> occidit insani crimine mersa freti.
> gloria quanta perit uobis! haec monstra Neroni
> nec iussae quondam praestiteratis, aquae.

[1] Furneaux, note on Tacitus, *Annals*, XIV. 4. 4 (Second Edition, II. p. 237).

[2] If Günther's identification of the Stagnum Baiarum (*Earth-Movements in the Bay of Naples*, p. 37) be correct as a lagoon bordering the Harbour of Baiae, it might be called Baianus Lacus.

domesticorum cura leuem tumulum accepit, uiam Miseni propter et uillam Caesaris dictatoris, quae subiectos sinus editissima prospectat.' Local tradition has labelled an ancient theatre near the shore at Bacoli 'il sepolcro d'Agrippina'; but the villa of Caesar and the near-by barrow doubtless stood on the high ground further inland, whether at Bacoli itself—south of which tombs still indicate the course of the ancient highway to Misenum, or further north near the Castello di Baja—it seems impossible to determine.[1] Furneaux,[2] however, maintained that the villa, the funeral-pile, and the tomb were in proximity; that the tomb was near Bacoli, and therefore the villa was there also. In C.I.L. vol. x., the map locates Bauli at Bacoli in accordance with Mommsen's note on the inscriptions, 1746-1748. The first of these mentions an *ordo Baulanorum*, the second a *collegium Baula*[*num*], and both, therefore, concern Bauli; but that either of them has anything to do with that villa of Lucullus, near Misenum, which was later occupied by Tiberius, is purely an assumption on Mommsen's part, and without this assumption his argument for the location of Bauli at Bacoli fails. In the third inscription, his expansion of the abbreviations L.D.D.D.E.F.V.L. is doubtless correct, 'Locus datus decreto decurionum e familia uillae Lucullanae'; but there is no mention of Bauli in it. The question as to who these Baulani were I shall take up at the end of this paper. It might finally be urged that Caligula's bridge, which led from Puteoli to Bauli, would be far more a matter for glorification if it crossed the gulf to the shore of Bacoli than if it ran as close to land as the northern location of Bauli would require. On the other hand, the description which Dio[3] gives of the lighting of the bridge at the banquet, which included illumination from the hills on the shore, speaks for a situation near the land. Both Dio's calculation of the length of this bridge (LIX. 17: σταδίους ἓξ καὶ εἴκοσι) and Suetonius' (*Calig.* 19: 'trium milium et sescentorum fere passuum') are hardly safe to base an argument on.[4]

But the evidence in favour of locating Bauli between Baiae and the Lucrine Lake is weightier. Even in the Tacitean account itself there are points hostile to the identification of Bauli with Bacoli that seem to have escaped notice. Thus, if the *litora* (Tac. *Ann.* XIV. 4. 3) where Nero met his mother were merely those of Bauli, the compliment he paid her by his persona escort would be too slight to mention, since in the historian's description of the villa the words *flexo mari adluitur* show how short the distance from the beach to the house must have been. Compare also Silius Italicus, *Punic.* XII. 155:

> necnon Misenum seruantem Idaea sepulchro
> nomina et Herculeos uidet ipso in litore Baulos.

[1] Beloch, p. 185. Günther's theory that the Via Miseni may have been one that has since been submerged (*op. cit.* p. 38) seems improbable because of Tacitus' words *quae . . . prospectat.*

[2] Furneaux, note on Tacitus, *Annals*, XIV. 5. 7 (II[2]. p. 239).

[3] LIX. 17.

[4] If accurate, it must be admitted that they favour the identification of Bauli with Bacoli. See Nissen, II. p. 733 note 9.

In fact, we may well suspect that the villa had shore-constructions[1] of the kind to which Horace alludes in the *Odes* II. 18. 20:

> marisque Bais obstrepentis urges
> summouere litora,

and III. 1. 33:

> contracta pisces aequora sentiunt
> iactis in altum molibus, etc.

Since, however, *illuc* (Tac. *Ann.* XIV. 4. 2) refers to Baiae, it is much more likely that *litora* means the shores of Baiae. Nero's accompanying of his mother from there to Bauli would certainly be a courtesy worth mentioning. But if Bauli was close by the modern Bacoli, it seems a little strange that she should pass by the villa there that was to be her residence during her stay in this region, land at Baiae, then go to Bauli by litter, then return to Baiae, to go back once more to her villa after the banquet. Even making light of this, we have serious trouble with the *uillae suae* of XIV. 5. 7. For if her country house was at the Marina di Bacoli, the *solutilis nauis* on leaving the Portus Baiarum would have taken a southerly course, so that even though Agrippina was thrown into the water soon after the vessel left the harbour, it is hard to account for her having been carried by her rescuers so far north as the Lucrine Lake.

The fact that the boatmen rescued her at all shows that they did not suspect that her murder had been planned by Nero. Compare, too, *Annals* XIV. 8. 1: 'Interim uulgato Agrippinae periculo quasi casu euenisset, ut quisque acceperat, decurrere ad litus.' Surely, if her house was on the Bacoli shore, she would have been rowed the much shorter distance there. Furthermore, this *uillae suae* to which she was taken is with much more probability identified with the villa of Bauli, which Tacitus has already mentioned, than with some house of hers near the Lucrine Lake, of which we have no other mention either in the Tacitean story or elsewhere.[2] But if this villa was at Bauli, and Bauli located near the modern Bacoli, then we have to assume that Agrippina, a woman, and at least forty-four years old,[3] having indulged in a banquet which lasted far into the night, which made her, as Dio[4] says, διακορὴς μέθης, after the shock of seeing her companion Crepereius Gallus crushed by the falling roof and her own narrow escape from it, after a considerable stay in water of the temperature of a March night,[5] after being wounded in the shoulder by a

[1] Cf. Cassiodorus, *Variar.* IX. 6, for a description of these shores in his day.

[2] See Furneaux on Tac. *Ann.* XIV. 5. 7 (II². p. 239). Henderson, *The Life and Principate of Nero*, p. 120, evidently takes it to be a different villa from that at Bauli.

[3] See Mommsen in *Hermes*, XIII. pp. 245-365, esp. p. 255.

[4] LXI. 13.

[5] The accounts suggest that she had been floating or swimming for some time: Tac. *Ann.* XIV. 5, 7; Suet. *Ner.* 34; Pseudo-Seneca, *Octav.* 346-356. How cold the water may have been at the beginning of the Baian season in the Bay of Baiae it might be hard to say. Pliny, *N.H.* XXXI. 5, speaks of hot springs beneath its waters.

blow from an oar,[1] and probably seeing her friend Acerronia murdered by the same weapon,[2] would yet, in spite of her physical condition,[3] make the long trip down the coast through Baiae, where she knew her murderer was at that very time awaiting the news of her death. Since all the acts of this tragedy took place between midnight and morning, an objection to a theory involving such a trip might also be based on the difficulty of time. But outside of our Tacitean narrative there is further evidence that Bauli was north and not south of Baiae. Thus Pliny the Elder,[4] who might be assumed to have known this region as well as most Romans, gives the localities that we are discussing in this order:[5] Misenum, portus Baiarum, Bauli, lacus Lucrinus et Auernus. Since the portus Baiarum is bounded on the north by the Punta dell' Epitafio, and the Lucrine Lake was bounded on the south by the dam called the Via Herculanea, Bauli would appear to have been just between, stretching along the coast on the northern side of the Punta dell' Epitafio. It was then the next place to Baiae, as the language of Pliny elsewhere (IX. 55. 172: apud Baulos in parte Baiana) also would seem to indicate, and doubtless not always carefully distinguished from it as a separate place. For instance, we find in Strabo, p. 245: ὁ δὲ Λοκρῖνος κόλπος πλατύνεται μέχρι Βαιῶν, χώματι εἰργόμενος ἀπὸ τῆς θαλάσσης ὀκτασταδίῳ τὸ μῆκος, πλάτος δὲ ἀμαξιτοῦ πλατείας ὅ φασιν Ἡρακλέα διαχῶσαι τὰς βοῦς ἐλαύνοντα τὰς Γηρυόνου, and in Suetonius, *Aug.* 16: 'portum Iulium apud Baias inmisso in Lucrinum et Auernum lacum mari effecit.' Moreover, while Dio LIX. 17 tells us that Caligula built the bridge of boats from Bauli to Puteoli, γεφυρώσας τὸ μεταξὺ τῶν τε Ποντεόλων καὶ τῶν Βαύλων, Suetonius, *Calig.* 19, states less precisely: 'Baiarum medium interuallum ad Puteolanas moles, trium et sescentorum fere passuum spatium, ponte coniunxit.' The *Puteolanae moles* here mentioned as the eastern terminus of the bridge are with much probability identified[6] with constructions which are still visible at Pozzuoli, the so-called Ponte di Caligola, but one hardly dares to determine the location of Bauli from the direction in which they point, for they were not built for the bridge,[7] but the bridge merely terminated with them. According to the ancients, Bauli is merely a derivative from Boaulia, the place in which Hercules, while building the embankment which was later called from him the Via Herculanea, put the cattle that he had taken from Geryon. Servius, on the *Aeneid*, VII. 662: 'Postea iuxta Baias caulam bubus fecit et eam saepsit: qui locus Boaulia dictus est; nam hodie Bauli uocatur.' Symmachus *Epist.* I. 1:

[1] Dio LXI. 13, Pseudo-Seneca, *Octav.* 955.

[2] Tacitus, *Ann.* XIV. 5. 6; Dio LXI. 13.

[3] After arriving at the villa, Agrippina, according to Tacitus, *Ann.* XIV. 6, 2, 'medicamina uulneri et fomenta corpori adhibet.'

[4] *N. H.* III. 61.

[5] On account of Pliny's notorious carelessness as a geographer, some would hesitate to use as evidence any statement of his as to the order of places. Thus Nissen, II. p. 733 note 3, in speaking of the theory that locates Bauli north of Baiae, says, 'Der einzige Grund der sich dafür anführen lässt, ist die Reihenfolge Pliny III. 61: jedoch scheint es bedenklich ihr ein entscheidendes Gewicht beizulegen.'

[6] Writers of the Augustan age mention the *moles:* Anthol. Pal. VII. 379; IX. 708.

[7] Beloch, p. 132. I note that Baedeker's *Southern Italy* disagrees.

Huc deus Alcides stabulanda armenta coegit
eruta Geryonis de lare tergemini.
inde recens aetas corrupta Boaulia Baulos
nuncupat occulto nominis indicio.

and *Propertius* IV. 18. 4: 'et sonat Herculeo structa labore uia' may be added to the passages from Strabo[1] and Silius Italicus,[2] which have already been quoted. We have then in the Hercules myth evidence that Bauli is to be located north of Baiae.[3] As for Tacitus's statement that Bauli was between Cape Misenum and the Baianus lacus, that is merely his way of saying that it was situated on the eastern shore of the peninsula. The Baianus lacus was not some shore-lake that has long since been filled in by the sand, nor the entire upper bay, nor the harbour of Baiae, but merely another name of the Lucrine Lake. For the adjective *Baianus* had a far wider application than to the town and immediate neighbourhood of Baiae itself. Thus, while the villa of Lucullus is proved to have been at Misenum by passages in Phaedrus II. 5. 7:

Caesar Tiberius cum petens Neapolim
in Misenensem uillam uenisset suam,
quae monte summo posita Luculli manu
prospectat Siculum et prospicit Tuscum mare,

and in several other authors,[4] yet Varro, in his *de Re Rustica*, III. 17. 9, uses the less exact designation of its location, 'contra ad Neapolim L. Lucullus . . . In Baiano autem tanta ardebat cura ut . . .,' and Seneca, *Ep. Mor.* V. 11 (51) 11, speaks of the 'uillas' of Marius (the later villa of Lucullus, above mentioned), Cn. Pompeius (which was perhaps[5] near the Lucrine Lake) and Caesar (near Bacoli, as already stated) as all *in regione Baiana*. Then, too, we have evidence that the Lucrine Lake was called *Baianus;* Martial XIII. 82. 1, 'Ebria Baiano modo ueni concha Lucrino,' and Pliny, *Panegyricus* 82, 'quantum dissimilis illi qui non Albani lacus otium Baianique torporem et silentium ferre, non pulsum saltim fragoremque remorum perpeti poterat quin ad singulos ictus turpi formidine horresceret!' But in Martial IV. 30. 1:

Baiano procul a lacu, monemus,
piscator, fuge, ne nocens recedas,

probably neither the Lucrine Lake nor the Avernus is intended, but a piscina.

Bauli is therefore to be located between the Punta dell' Epitafio and the Lacus Lucrinus. As evidence that the villa itself was by the lake, Beloch adduces the words of Symmachus,[6] *Baulos* (quoted by Beloch as *Bauli*) *Lucrina*

[1] V. 4. 6 (p. 245). [2] *Punic.* XII. 155, 156.

[3] This argument was suggested to me by Beloch, p. 177.

[4] Cf. Tac. *Ann.* VI. 50; Dio LVIII. 28; Suet. *Tib.* 72 and 73; Plut. *Marius* 34; Pliny, *N. H.* XVIII. 32.

[5] I say 'perhaps'; for the passage in Cic. *ad Fam.* VIII. 1. 5 which Beloch, p. 179, and Hülsen, Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencyc.* s.v. Bauli, both use refers to Q. Pompeius Rufus, who need not necessarily be lodged in a namesake's villa. On his great poverty at this time cf. Val. Max. IV. 2. 7.

[6] *Epist.* I. 1: 'Baulos Lucrina sede mutauimus: non quod eius deuersorii satias ceperit nos, quod cum diutius uisitur, plus amatur: sed quod metus fuit, ne, si Baulorum mihi inoleuisset affectio, cetera, quae uisenda sunt, displicerent.'

sede, which would be convincing, did not an examination of the context unfortunately reveal *mutauimus* as the next word, which would, of course, permit Bauli to be at a distance of miles from the Lucrine. Furthermore, while I should accept as probable Beloch's[1] theory that Agrippina's villa at Bauli, where she was murdered, was that which the orator Hortensius once owned, and later her grandfather Drusus, I think that he is mistaken in locating it (*Plate* V.) in the low land by the Lucrine, north of the Via Herculanea, not only because of Tacitus' words *flexo mari adluitur* and the passage in Pliny, *N. H.* IX. 112, 'Apud Baulos in parte Baiana piscinam habuit Hortensius orator, in qua murenam adeo dilexit ut exanimatam flesse credatur. In eadem uilla Antonia Drusi murenae quam diligebat inaures addidit, cuius propter famam nonnulli Baulos uisere concupiuerunt,' but also because in Cicero's *Academica Priora*, the scene of which is the villa of Hortensius,[2] the characters of the dialogue apparently are looking forth from the high ground near the Punta dell' Epitafio, from which they gaze on the *mare* below, dotted with ships,[3] and have an unobstructed view of the Pompeian shore, though they cannot see Cicero's villa there as they can Catulus' Cumanum,[4] and in the distance, thirty stadia to the east,[5] Puteoli.[6] When the breeze that they have been waiting for[7] finally comes, they descend[8] to the boats below that are to take Lucullus to Naples and Cicero to Pompeii.[9] The villa would, therefore, seem to have been on the high land just north of the Punta dell' Epitafio, at a rather deep curve in the shore line that corresponds nicely to Tacitus' words and is clearly indicated on Beloch's map (*Plate* V.).[10]

Such being the situation of this historic *aula*,[11] we can well understand how Symmachus might fear that the charms of the place would get hold of him so strongly that nothing else could please him, if he did not exchange it betimes for the less attractive though still delightful Lucrine shore.[12]

It seems likely that the villa eventually became imperial property, and that the fish that Martial says would lick the hand of their lord, Domitian,[13] swam in the same piscina as the murenae of Hortensius and Antonia.[14] The *ordo*[15] and the *collegium Baulanorum*[16] may therefore be referred to the slaves in the imperial household.

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[1] P. 179; he quotes Varro *R. R.* III. 17. 5, and Pliny *N. H.* IX. 112.

[2] II. 47. 105.

[3] II. 25. 81; II. 33. 105.

[4] II. 25. 80: 'ut enim uera uideamus quam longe uidemus? ego Catuli Cumanum ex hoc loco cerno, Pompeianum non cerno, neque quicquam interiectum est quod obstet sed intendi acies longius non potest. O praeclarum prospectum! Puteolos uidemus, at familiarem nostrum C. Auianium fortasse in porticu Neptuni ambulantem non uidemus.'

[5] II. 31. 100.

[6] II. 40. 125.

[7] II. 48. 147.

[8] II. 48. 148: 'ita sermone confecto, Catulus remansit, nos ad nauiculas nostras *descendimus*.'

[9] II. 3. 9.

[10] R. T. Günther in his valuable *Contributions to the study of Earth-Movements in the Bay of Naples*, pp. 52, 53, gives interesting pictures of partially submerged ancient constructions at Bauli.

[11] Cf. the distich in Symmachus, *Epist.* I. 1:
'hanc celebrauit opum felix Hortensius aulam:
contra Arpinatem qui stetit eloquio.'

[12] Ibid.

[13] IV. 30. 4.

[14] Pliny, *N. H.* IX. 112.

[15] C. I. L. 1746.

[16] C. I. L. 1747.

JOHN OF SALISBURY AND THE CLASSICS.

Not the least interesting feature in Mr. C. C. J. Webb's new edition of John of Salisbury's *Policraticus* are the references to the passages of Roman literature from which his author has quoted or borrowed. One cannot speak too highly of the thoroughness with which the editor has carried out this part of his task; that a few cases of borrowing should have passed unnoticed, and the sources of a few quotations evaded his inquiries, was inevitable. As it is not very likely that a new edition of the work will be needed for some time to come, I have thought it worth while to print the following addenda, which a recent reading of the book has suggested to me. It will be seen that I have not detected in John the use of any author other than those of which Mr. Webb has given a list in his *Prolegomena*: I think, however, that we may regard it as almost certain that he had read Seneca's *De Breuitate Vitae*, possibly also his *De Ira* (see on 4. 8 and 5. 10 below).

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P. 4 (=*Entheticus* 107) Munera fortunae uiscata] W. refers to two passages—one from a letter of Seneca's, the other from the younger Pliny, but in the latter the context is quite different. That John has Seneca in mind is proved by the resemblance of ll. 111, 112 ('quod fortuna dedit, et quod dabit, est alienum: | auferet hoc totum cum uolet ipsa tibi') to §§ 9, 10 of the same eighth letter: 'alienum est omne quicquid optando euenit . . . non est tuum fortuna quod fecit tuum . . . dari bonum quod potuit auferri potest.'

P. 14 (=*Policraticus* 1 prol.) Mirare quare non praecido aut rumpo funem, si alias solui non potest] The reference is to the ties of court life. Seneca, advising Lucilius to abandon a political career, writes: 'leni eundum uia, ut quod male implicuisti soluas potius quam abrumpas, dummodo, si alia soluendi ratio non erit, uel abrumpas' (*Ep.* 22. 3).

P. 16 (l. c.) Quicquid ubique bene dictum est, facio meum] 'Quicquid bene dictum est ab ullo meum est' (Sen. *Ep.* 16. 7).

P. 25 (*Pol.* 1. 4) Ne sub domina meretrice turpis, etc.] Reminiscence of Hor. *Ep.* 1. 2. 25.

P. 28 (ib.) W. refers to Luc. 2. 391 for the quotation *partemque—uoluptas*, but omits to mention that J.'s previous words, 'nullosque illius in actus surrepsit,' are only slightly varied from the sentence which immediately precedes in Luc. l. c.

P. 122 (2. 22) Quicquid insolenti Graeciae eleganter opponit aut praefert]

Only a slight variation of Sen. pat. *Contr.* 1. pr. 6. The reference in both cases is to Cicero. Correct *Proleg.* p. xxxi accordingly.

P. 133 (2. 24) Sin autem mutari non potest, quid prodest . . . scrutari quod nulla potest diligentia declinari] 'Siue quicquid euenit faciunt (sc. *sidera*, of which John also is speaking), quid immutabilis rei notitia proficiet?' (Sen. *Ep.* 88. 15).

P. 136 (2. 25) Cur ita crediderim, etc.] Adapted from Hor. *Ep.* 1. 2. 5.

P. 201 (3. 10) Misera nec miserabilis] Sidon. Apoll. 1. 7. 11.

P. 203 (l. c.) Voces quibus mentimur dominis] Luc. 5. 385, 386 (with *per quas* for *quibus*).

P. 203 (l. c.) In eo libertatis seruatur umbra si se quisque quod praecipitur simulat uoluisse] Paraphrase of Luc. 3. 146, 147.

P. 205 (l. c.) Certum est illis . . . non magis placere uirtutem quam illos bene olere qui in culina habitant] 'Non magis sapere possunt quam bene olere q. i. c. h.' (Petron. 2).

P. 218 (3. 13) Si libera donentur cunctis iudicia] Reminiscence of Juvenal's 'libera si dentur populo suffragia' (8. 211).

P. 236 (4. 1) Quisque timet quibus ipse timori est] Luc. 5. 257 (but *pauet* for *timet*).

P. 262 (4. 8) 'Doctors try to cure with gentle remedies first, then *igne uel ferro*'] The thought is exactly the same as that of Sen. *Ira.* 1. 6. 2, and the reference is in both cases to the wise use of punishments by rulers. At the same time, I do not feel certain that Seneca is the source here.

P. 262 (ib.) Eam tamen peragit inuita dextra] 'Inuita peragam tamen omnia dextra' (Luc. 1. 378).

P. 324 (5. 10) De singulis uerbis in consilium itur] 'D. s. capillis i. c. i.' (Sen. *B.* V. 12. 3).

P. 325 (ib.) W. notes that *uerbum—rogo* is from Sen. *Ben.* 2. 2. 1, but omits to say that the next sentence (*nec gratis—accepit*) is from 1. 4 of the same book of the *De Beneficiis*.

P. 327 (ib.) Superbis assidere liminibus] Sen. *Ep.* 4. 10. John borrows it again in 7. 16 (ii 157 W.).

P. 363 (5. 17) Pretium . . . etas altera sordet] Hor. *Ep.* 1. 18. 18.

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P. 19 (6. 6) Pede pes et cuspide cuspis] W. quotes analogous passages from Vergil and Silius Italicus. Drakenborch on the Silius passage gives many instances of the epic τόπος. Curiously enough, he omits the one John here uses, Stat. *Theb.* 8. 399. The words (*et*) *umbo umbone repelleretur*, which follow in John, are from l. 398. Correct *Proll.* p. xxxii accordingly.

P. 150 (7. 13) Honesta res est, ut ait sapiens, laeta paupertas] Another quotation the source of which W. has not been able to find. The sage is Epicurus, the words from Sen. *Ep.* 2. 5.

P. 222 (7. 25) Anecdote of Paschelius Iunius] 'Haec alibi narrata non

repperi' (W.). It is from Val. Max. 6. 2. 12, where Kempf reads Cascellius, but LA[1] have *Pascelius*.

P. 227 (8 pr.) Non a quo sed quid dicatur attendunt] 'Nec quid dicatur aestimant, sed a quo' (Sen. *Ep.* 12. 11).

P. 252 (8. 6) Aut nulla ebrietas—nocet. Printed as prose. It is an Ovidian couplet, *Rem. Am.* 809, 810.

P. 254 (ib.) Sedere ad calculum] W. quotes 'ad eleemosynam sedebat' from the Vulgate, but Sen. *Ep.* 17. 2 has the phrase itself (with *calculos*).

P. 318 (8. 13) Ratio constat impensae] Sen. *Ep.* 1. 4.

P. 373 (8. 20) Et sane nihil tam praeclarum est . . . temperari] W. notes that the previous sentence is from Val. Max. 4. 1. E 8, but fails to record that this one is from E 9 of the same chapter.

P. 406 (8. 23) Ferro rimatur uiscera matris] This passage is puzzling. W. compares Sen. *Med.* 1012, 1013 ('in matre si quod pignus etiamnunc latet | scrutabor ense uiscera et ferro extrahit'). But, as he says, the quotation seems to come from a hexameter line, and there is no other trace in the *Policraticus* of the influence of the Tragedies (see *Proll.* p. xxxii). I cannot solve the problem, but it is perhaps worth while noticing that Lucan has two somewhat similar passages (1. 377, 8. 556: we have seen J. quoting 1. 378 above), and they may have helped to give John's recollection of the *Medea* lines a hexametrical tinge.

P. 413 (8. 24) Letis stare negatum est] 'Summisque negatum | stare diu' (Luc. 1. 70).

There are several other passages which I feel sure are borrowed, but which I am unable to run to earth. 'Audaciores sunt qui bellum inferunt' (ii 38 W.) is surely classical; 'Quem mihi dabis inter illos qui non uelit uel unum potentia anteire' (ib. 162) sounds very Senecan, though I can hardly believe, after the search I have made for it, that it can be in him; the episode of 'Caristolus' (ib. 215) and the paragraphs about Cato and Brutus (ib. 218) present a Latin style that seems to me quite beyond the reach of the author himself. Indeed, in the case of the paragraphs, occurring as they do in a part of the book which is full of loans from Valerius Maximus, one is tempted to think that they have come from some MS. of his works which has been lost since the twelfth century. It will be remembered that Mr. Webb finds[1] in the eighth book of the *Policraticus* a number of passages which he believes to have come from some portion of Macrobius' *Saturnalia* which has vanished in our extant MS. I should like to say that I think there is no doubt that this hypothesis of his is correct.[2]

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[1] See *C. R.*, 11. 441.

[2] On p. 64, l. 2, of vol. i., should not *omnia* be *omina?* So certainly in the Ovid passage (*F.* 1, 178), p. 61, 11. And on p. 76, line 30, what is *despicatis foribus?* Should it be *dissipatis?* On p. 206, l. 21, *autem* is clearly needed for *enim*. The Irish contractions for the two words are sometimes confused with each other.

HORATIANA.

Carmina III. 23.

Caelo supinas si tuleris manus
nascente luna, rustica Phidyle,
si ture placaris et horna
fruge Laris auidaque porca:

nec pestilentem sentiet Africum
fecunda uitis nec sterilem seges
robiginem aut dulces alumni
pomifero graue tempus anno.

nam quae niuali pascitur Algido
deuota quercus inter et ilices
aut crescit Albanis in herbis
uictima, pontificum securis

ceruice tinguet; te nihil attinet
temptare multa caede bidentium
paruos coronantem marino
rore deos fragilique myrto.

inmunis aram si tetigit manus,
non sumptuosa blandior hostia
molliuit auersos Penatis
farre pio et saliente mica.

Among the multitude of commentators by which an Horatian *crux* is surrounded it is reasonable to suppose that one or two at least have seen some vestiges of the truth, and I will therefore preface my remarks upon the meaning of this ode and its ultimate stanza[1] by quoting first from an annotation by Dean Wickham.

Arguing against the scholiasts' interpretation of *immunis* in verse 17 as 'guiltless,' he says that 'the whole attempt to force this meaning on *immunis* seems to be founded on a misconception of the stanza. The moral purity of the hand which offers the acceptable gift may be assumed by the poet, but it is

[1] It will be understood that I withdraw unreservedly my own suggestion, published in Dr. Gow's school edition of the *Odes* and *Epodes* (1896), that this stanza should be printed as a question.

not expressed. The doctrine simply is that the gods do not look for costly offerings from humble worshippers. If *immunis* meant *immunis scelerum*, it would be the most weighty word in the line, and Horace would not have left his readers to make up the distinctive part of its meaning by conjecture.'

There is now a general consensus[1] that *inmunis manus* should mean 'a hand without an offering,' or, to give the slide in meaning more exactly, 'with *duty unpaid*'; and in its presentation of this and of the theme of the whole ode Dean Wickham's statement leaves nothing to be desired. But his translation of the last stanza, 'Though thy hand, when it was laid on the altar, held no gift, it has softened the displeasure of the Penates with the pious offering of meal and crackling salt, and could please no more with (i.e. if it brought) a costly victim,' is not only open to Dr. Gow's objection, 'How can a hand which brings meal and salt be described as "bringing no gift" at all?',[2] but at best it makes the last stanza only an obscure and apparently motiveless repetition of what has already been adequately set forth in the preceding four. We are not surprised to learn, though Dean Wickham does not tell us this, that the lines have been condemned as spurious by Guyot, Peerlkamp, Meineke, and Lehrs.

The way out of this *impasse* we can only hope to discover by the strictest attention to the phrasing of the stanza and its relations to the intention of the poem as a whole. On the one side it will be observed that the Lares are now described as *auersi*, as Iuppiter to Maeuius in *Epod.* 5. 18; and that the word for propitiating them is not *placare*, but *mollire*—a much stronger and, as L. Mueller noted, in this sense an unusual verb: *Epod.* 5. 13 sq., 'quale posset *inpia* | *mollire* Thracum *pectora*'; Livy I. 9. 15, '*mollirent* modo *iras*'; Prop. IV. 5. 5, 'docta uel Hippolytum ueneri *mollire negantem*' (sc. durum). In

[1] To this Mr. Shorey is one exception, slipping back on the old explanation, and assevering that 'the absolute use is no harsher' than that of *aceruos* in II. 2. 24. He might as well have cited the American 'to make one's pile'; for *aceruus*, originally a heap of corn, is well attested in the metaphorical sense, whereas the assumed use of *immunis* is quite devoid of authority. Another was L. Mueller, in whose posthumous edition we read: 'Gleichwohl kommt er' (the scholiast Porphyrio) 'der Wahrheit ziemlich nahe. Denn *inmunis* steht hier, wie IV. 12, 23, im juristischen Sinne, gemäss der doppelten Bedeutung von *munus* (*munia*), von dem, der keine Verpflichtung hat, keine Leistung schuldet, wie *inmunis ager*, *ciues immunes*. Vgl. die Lexika. Danach geht *immunis—manus* auf die Schuldlosigkeit der Phidyle. Denn nur der, desser Gewissen rein ist, bedarf auch in der grössten Gefahr, keiner Bitte noch Spende an die Götter, Vgl. 29. 58 f.' The appeal to 29. 58 sqq. is irrelevant; for vows, not sacrifices, are there regarded, and a Roman might well have asked what a person who had no need to pray or sacrifice was doing to touch the altar at all (*aram—tetigit*). But we need only read with their full context Mueller's IV. 12. 23: 'ad quae si properas gaudia, *cum tua* | uelox, *merce* ueni; non ego te meis | *immunem* meditor tinguere poculis, | plena diues ut in domo,' and the well-known place of Plautus *Trinummus*, 349 sqq. 'PH. De magnis diuitiis si quid demas, plus fit an minus? | LY. Minus, pater. sed *ciui inmoeni* scin quid cantari solet? | Quod habes ne habeas et illuc quod non habes habeas malum, | quando equidem nec tibi bene esse pote pati neque alteri. | PH. Scio equidem istuc ita solere fieri: uerum, gnate mi, | is est *inmunis* quoi nihil est qui munus fungatur suom,' to see that *immunis* means one 'who does not (or cannot) discharge his obligations,' *not* one 'who has no obligations to discharge'—the defaulter, *not* the man without a debt.

[2] The justice of this criticism is clear from Pliny, *N. H. praef.* 11 'mola tantum salsa litant qui non habent *tura*' (cf. v. 3 of our ode).

other words, the Lares are not simply eager and waiting for their rights; they are hard with wrath against an offender. And what is the offence? It is the sovereign sin of neglect. 'Wrongdoing,' says Ovid in a passage illumining Horace by its contrasts (*Fasti* V. 299 sqq.), may be condoned if sacrifice be forthcoming; but the omission of this is unpardonable. 'Saepe deos aliquis peccando fecit iniquos | et pro delictis *hostia blanda* fuit. | saepe Iouem uidi, cum iam sua mittere uellet | fulmina, *ture* dato sustinuisse manum. | at si neglegimur, magnis injuria poenis | soluitur, et iustum praeterit ira modum. | respice Thestiaden; flammis absentibus arsit. | causa est quod Phoebes ara sine igne fuit' (e.q.s.). The offence which alienates the Lares here is the omission of the offering which should accompany a prayer; and *tetigit* has its proper force. For, as Varro says (cf. Macrob. III. 28), it is necessary for the altar 'a sacrificantibus *teneri*.' And thus in the fourth *Aeneid*, after the sacrifice implied in v. 201, prays Iarbas 204 sq. 'dicitur ante aras media inter numina diuom | multa Iouem *manibus* supplex *orasse supinis* (cf. Hor. v. 1, —talibus orantem dictis *aras*que *tenentem* | audiit Omnipotens': *immunis* now regains the force to which by prominent position it is entitled. No need that offerings should be costly; *even their absence* will require no heavy expiation.

The sense which, I trust, I have shown to be necessary some may possibly think can be wrung from the text. But it would be far more satisfactory to make the slight change of *si* to *seu*, for the use of which, without its correlative, see e.g. *S.* II. 6. 20; *Carm.* I. 15. 25, 32. 7.

Let me add a few words on some other difficulties in the stanza. I subscribe to the views that *sumptuosa—hostia—farre pio et saliente mica* are both ablatives of the instrument, 'not more persuasive by help of costly victim it soothes the wrathful deities by dutiful offering of spelt and crackling salt grains,' and that *molliuit*, not *mollibit*, should be read in 19. Apart from the question of the form, *mollibit* would seem to demand *tetigerit*, especially if the structure is to harmonize with the context, *tuleris—placaris*. But there is another and a finer reason for the tense. Horace, with a delicacy which he can show when he chooses, prefers not to suggest that Phidyle may be guilty of any disrespect to the Lares, and gives the thought a more general turn, so that *manus* is anyone's hand, and *tetigit* and *molliuit* are 'gnomic' perfects. The parallel adduced from the *Pan. Messallae* 14 sq. 'paruaque caelestes plac*auit mica* nec illis | semper inaurato taurus cadit hostia cornu' is conclusive.

Ars Poetica 120 sqq.[1]

> honoratum si forte reponis Achillem,
> inpiger iracundus, inexorabilis acer,
> iura neget sibi nata, nihil non arroget armis.

[1] This note owes its origin to Professor W. Rhys Roberts, who recently drew my attention to the passage, and pointed out the sense that it required.

So the lines stand in the new Teubner text, and with the express approval of the editor, whose note is as follows:

120 honoratum I., II. (*Schol. Pers.* 1, 70?), *cf. Ilias* 9, 605 (*monuit Sudhaus*), Homereum vel -iacum, *Bentley* (*cf. schol.* Γ V. p. 328, 25).

Herr Vollmer has read the commentary of Bentley with profit to his edition. At *Carm.* III. 26. 7, for example, he has had the courage to accept *securisque* for the senseless *et arcus* of the MSS.; but here the monition of Herr Sudhaus, that the application of τιμῆς to Achilles in the *Iliad*, no matter in what context (the passage is quoted below), will establish the appropriateness of its Latin equivalent to Achilles in the *Ars Poetica*, has proved sufficient to overpower the reasoning of Bentley, though expressed in language of matchless clearness and force:

Vide quod evenimus, in quas angustias compulsi. Quippe tota Ilias ob Μῆνιν illam Ἀχιλλῆος, quod in *nullo honore* haberetur composita et scripta est; nulla omnino futura nisi *contumelia* Achilli facta materiam et argumentum suppeditavisset. Ipse Achilles iam a principio queritur, nec Iovem nec Agamemnonem se vel hilum *honoravisse* I. 354 et 412. Immo adhuc indignatur libro IX. se ut *nullius pretii* homunculum et *inhonoratum exsulem* ignominiose tractatum esse v. 642.

Bentley's substitute for *honoratum* is not, indeed, satisfactory; it is not very close to the letters of the MSS., and a mention of the source is surely unnecessary for the Homeric Achilles if it is not required for the other characters cited—for Medea, Ino, Ixion, Io, and Orestes. But to his proof that '*honoratum*—Achillem' is here impossible nothing can be added beyond a collection of the passages in the *Iliad*, where the *motif* of the Μῆνις is given. These I shall arrange in two divisions for a reason that will presently appear:

I. 171 οὐδέ σ' ὀΐω | ἐνθάδ' ἄτιμος ἐὼν ἄφενος καὶ πλοῦτον ἀφύξειν. 243 σὺ δ' ἔνδοθι θυμὸν ἀμύξεις | χωόμενος ὅ τ' ἄριστον Ἀχαιῶν οὐδὲν ἔτισας. 353 τιμήν πέρ μοι ὄφελλεν Ὀλύμπιος ἐγγυαλίξαι | Ζεὺς ὑψιβρεμέτης· νῦν δ' οὐδέ με τυτθὸν ἔτισεν· | ἦ γάρ μ' Ἀτρεΐδης εὐρυκρείων Ἀγαμέμνων | ἠτίμησεν (cf. 507). 411 γνῷ δὲ καὶ Ἀτρεΐδης εὐρυκρείων Ἀγαμέμνων | ἣν ἄτην ὅ τ' ἄριστον Ἀχαιῶν οὐδὲν ἔτισεν. IX. 110 ἄνδρα φέριστον ὃν ἀθάνατοί περ ἔτισαν | ἠτίμησας. 646 ἀλλά μοι οἰδάνεται κραδίη χόλῳ ὅππότε κείνων | μνήσομαι, ὡς μ' ἀσύφηλον ἐν Ἀργείοισιν ἔρεξεν | Ἀτρεΐδης ὡς εἴ τιν' ἀτίμητον μετανάστην. 648 repeated at XVI. 59. XVI. 90 ἀτιμότερον δέ με θήσεις.

I. 505 τίμησον μοι υἱὸν ὃς ὠκυμορώτατος ἄλλων | ἔπλετ'· ἀτάρ μιν νῦν γε ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν Ἀγαμέμνων | ἠτίμησεν· ἑλὼν γὰρ ἔχει γέρας αὐτὸς ἀπούρας·| ἀλλὰ σύ πέρ μιν τῖσον, Ὀλύμπιε μητίετα Ζεῦ. II. 3 (of Zeus) ἀλλ' ὅγε μερμήριζε κατὰ φρένα ὡς Ἀχιλῆα | τιμήσει'· ὀλέσαι δὲ πολέας ἐπὶ νηυσὶν Ἀχαιῶν. VIII. 372 (of Thetis and Zeus) λισσομένη τιμῆσαι Ἀχιλλῆα πτολίπορθον. IX. 117 ἀνὴρ ὅν τε Ζεὺς κῆρι φιλήσῃ | ὡς νῦν τοῦτον ἔτισε. 142 τίσω δέ μιν ἶσον Ὀρέστῃ (=284). 154 sq. ἐν δ' ἄνδρες ναίουσι πολύρρηνες πολυβοῦται | οἵ κέ ἑ δωτίνῃσι θεὸν ὣς τιμήσουσι (=296, 297).

257 λῃγέμεναι δ' ἔριδος κακομηχάνου ὄφρα σε μᾶλλον | τίωσ' Ἀργείων ἠμὲν νέοι ἠδὲ γέροντες. 301 σὺ δ' ἄλλους περ Παναχαιοὺς | τειρομένους ἐλέαιρε κατὰ στρατὸν οἵ σε θεὸν ὥς | τίσουσ'. 603 ἀλλ' ἐπὶ δώροις | ἔρχεο· ἶσον γάρ σε θεῷ τίσουσιν Ἀχαιοί. | εἰ δέ κ' ἄτερ δώρων πόλεμον φθισήνορα δύῃς, | οὐκέθ' ὁμῶς τιμῆς ἔσεαι πόλεμον περ ἀλαλκών. 630 οὐδὲ μεταπρέπεται φιλότητος ἑταίρων | τῆς ἧ μιν παρὰ νηυσὶν ἐτίομεν ἔξοχον ἄλλων. (It may be remarked in passing that this speech of the Telamonian Ajax, 628-637, with its accumulation of epithets on the relentlessness of Achilles, seems to have suggested v. 121 to Horace.) XIII. 347 Ζεὺς μέν ῥα Τρώεσσι καὶ Ἕκτορι βούλετο νίκην | κυδαίνων Ἀχιλῆα πόδας ταχύν. XVI. 84 ὥς ἄν μοι τιμὴν μεγάλην καὶ κῦδος ἄρηαι | πρὸς πάντων Δαναῶν.[1]

If now we desire a distinctive reference to the principal rôle of our character, it must be one to his dishonour and its expiation. And it will not be the whole of '*honor*atum' that is corrupt, as Bentley supposed, but only the second half of it. A double correction is possible, according as we follow the turn of the first or the second class of passages which I have distinguished. The easier change palaeographically would be to *honor a n d u m*[2] (τὸν μέλλοντα τιμήσεσθαι). But against this it might be urged that the allusion will be lacking in directness, and that a reference to the 'honouring' of Achilles which is to come suits ill with the epithets in the next line which describe his feelings in disgrace. So I should prefer to read *honor e<o r>b u m*, comparing Cicero's translation of *Il.* IX. 646 sqq. 'corque meum penitus turgescit tristibus iris | cum decore atque omni me *orbatum* laude recordor.' For *orbum* and its construction see *Carm.* IV. 2. 44. The similar letter groups hon*ore or*bum may have induced the corruption, or, what perhaps is more probable, *honoratum* has come from *honore orbum*.

Ibid. 360:

> ut pictura, poesis erit quae, si propius stes,
> te capiat magis et quaedam si longius *abstes*.

This verb *abstare* received its fullest treatment at the hands of E. Wölfflin (*Archiv* VI. 539). To omit glosses and Lucan VI. 720 (where an unknown scholiast *may* have read it in his MS.), the only places where it is found in a classical text are the present passage and a very doubtful one of Plautus, quoted below. The *Thesaurus* adds 'Cypr. Gall. *Gen.* 1440 Iosepumque docet haud longe abstare parentem'—of course no evidence for Horace. Bentley introduced *abstes* into *Ep.* I. 18. 58 (an arbitrary change which commended itself to Wölfflin, but is rightly disregarded by the *Thesaurus* and the Teubner edition), and L. Bauer with no better reason *abstabat* into Sil. It. XII. 480 (*Archiv* VII. 277). At Plautus *Trin.* 263 sq. the Ambrosian palimpsest has 'mille modis amor ignorandust | procul adhibendus atque *abstandust*,' the Palatine family 'm. m. a. ignorandust (-um est *B*) | procul adhibendus (-dum *C* by the

[1] I have not included in these lists the less direct allusions to τιμή, as at I. 159, IX. 319.

[2] For the common confusion of *-tus* and *-ndus* see *S.* I. 10. 39, *A. P.* 190 (Keller, *Epilegomena*).

first hand) est atque *ab*(*ap*)*tinendus*.' But editors cannot agree whether the participles are to be read as neuters or masculines, and if the latter, whether the substantive verb is to be '*st* or '*s*. *Adhibendus* is probably corrupt, though it is no improvement with Leo and Lindsay to import into literature *abhibeo*, the ugly and almost monstrous invention of Acidalius. The discrepancy between *A* and *P* over the concluding word cannot be neglected, and if Bergk was right in introducing *abigendus*, a change of which Ritschl spoke with approval, their difference may perhaps be reconciled by *abs t e r r endus;* for *atque* might as easily be dispensed with here as it is dispensed with at *Truc.* 252 'clamore *absterret abigit*.'

But however we read the passage in Plautus, his *abstandus* (or *abstandum*) would be a *lusus linguae* without bearing on the normal and featureless expression in Horace. The ordinary way of saying 'if you are some distance off' is 'si longius abs*is*,' as indeed is significantly shown by a passage of Vitruvius (IX. 1. 11), where, while coining a word *abstantia* on the model of *distantia*, he yet writes 'cum longius *absit* (sol) abstantia quadam.' If it be asked 'why should "*abstes*" have been copied down for "absis"?' the answer is 'look at the verse-ending immediately above it, and you will see.'

J. P. Postgate.

NOTES ON THE NEW *CALLIMACHVS.*

3. SURELY *ἄρσενι* is right. Cf. *Hymn.* IV. 298.

10-12. *δέρκομαι* cannot mean *expect*, and the whole of Dr. Hunt's explanation sounds very strange. It appears clear that the meaning is generally something like this: 'Next morning the oxen should have been sacrificed, but on the afternoon before Cydippe fell ill.' Punctuate accordingly after *δορίδα*. It has been disputed whether the *προτέλεια* were offered on the wedding-day or the day before. This passage seems to show that it was on the day itself.

18. *κοτέ* appears right, 'at last.'

23. Read *Λύγδαμιν οὐ γὰρ ἐμὴ τῆμος ἔκηδε κάσις*, and see the *Dictionary of Mythology* for the story of Lygdamis.

39-41. Read:

ἡ δ' ἀνετῶς κἀνεκάλυψεν ἔπος,
κἤνευσ', ὡς σοὶ λοιπὸν Ἀκόντιε σεῖο μετελθεῖν
ἔσται τὴν ἰδίην ἐς Διονυσιάδα.

It seems plain that Cydippe would not have concealed the truth. If she had done so, how could the story have got on? And why should *ἐκάλυψεν* have been aorist? Hence we must read *κἀνεκάλυψεν* to get the necessary sense. Then *κἠναυσθλώσατο* is not such a beginning of a hexameter as Callimachus allows, with both the first feet in one word and a diaeresis after the second; besides, what is the meaning? If *κἤνευσ'* be right, Cydippe consents to take Acontius, and all that remains for *him* will be to come for his own bride, *τὴν ἰδίην σεῖο*, to Naxos. The emphatic *ἰδίην* is appropriate enough under the circumstances. But *ὡς σοὶ* is somewhat speculative; if it be right, *ὡς* may stand for *ὥστε*.

50. *μελλενεεσθαι* is clearly enough given by the papyrus, but one would have expected *μέλλεν ἕπεσθαι*. Cf. e.g. Pindar, *Nem.* X. 37.

58. *τῶ*, not *τῷ*, is the regular poetical form, in the sense of 'therefore.'

76. *ἐτητυμίῃ* is the right reading. Cf. Pindar, *Frag.* 127, *Εὐθυμία τε μέλων*.

81. It seems likely from the editor's note that this line began with nothing more sagacious than *ἀείδειν*.

166. *κενὸς φρενῶν δῆμος*?

170. *πεφύκασιν* ?

223. *δάφνην δ' ἀείδει* seems to be a reference to the *δαφνηφαγία* of the priestess. If she threw herself into the prophetic condition by chewing laurel leaves, she might well be said to 'recite laurel.'

242. We may avoid the difficulty about the quantity of *ἄκυθε* by substituting *ἄκυμε*. As *ἀκύμων* means 'barren,' *ἄκυμος* might also be so used.

243. Possibly *κύκνος ὣς ἀποπνείων*.

251. *χαίρουσα* ? or *ἡσθεῖσα* ?

259. Read *κωτίλοις ἀφειδεῦσαι*, 'indulging in reckless chatter.' This accounts for the letters still visible and the correction above them. *ἄηθες* just above is very strange, and *ἀηδὲς* would be less displeasing.

263. The article is wanted; read *ἀρχαῖος*, or, rather, *ὠρχαῖος*.

270. The middle is necessary; read *ἐπιχρίσῃ*.

271. *ἔαδε* seems to be a perfect; it must be scanned as a trochee. Callimachus scarcely ever admits trisyllabic feet in these scazons. In 275 *οἱ ἱκέται* may be a cretic, and in 352 is *ἐμπεπλεκόσι* certain, or should it be *ἐμπέπλεκται* ? It looks like a false form.

280. As the first letter in the missing word may be λ (see the note), read *ἦ 'λόχευσε*.

283. *πλακεῖσα* or *πλεχθεῖσα* ?

295. I am inclined to think that *μηδ' ἐροῦμεν* is right. Though it is put in the first person, yet the meaning is really *οὐ παύσεσθε μηδ' ἐρεῖτε*. So we are allowed to say *πότερόν σε φῇ τις*, because it really means *πότερον ἐγὼ φῶ*.

296. Possibly *ἄνολβ' ἀναιδέως*.

297. It is incredible that the poet should say here that 'the laurel appeared in the form of a mad bull.' Perhaps he wrote *τὴν δ' ἀγρίως μανεῖσα ταῦρος ὥς*. I confess that I had also thought of *ἀγρίοις φανοῖσι* (cf. Soph. *Ant.* 1231), but I fear this would resemble the pork pies in *Pickwick*.

299. Punctuate and accent *ὡς δὴ μί' ἡμέων καὶ σύ! μή με ποίησαι* (see Leaf on *Iliad*, Δ 410), or read *ποιήσῃ*.

302. Perhaps *σοὶ συμβάλοιμ' ἄν· παῦε, μή μ' ἀποκτείνῃς*.

351. *ἀνάρτητον*, 'incompositum' ?

The historical fragment later on in this volume reminds me of the siege of Motya by Dionysius.

ARTHUR PLATT.

ON THE *AETIA* OF CALLIMACHVS.

(Oxyrhynchvs Papyri VII pp. 24-31.)

1—3.

ἤδη καὶ κούρῳ παρθένος εὐνάσατο,
τέθμιον ὡς ἐκέλευε προνύμφιον ὕπνον ἰαῦσαι
ἄρσενι τὴν τᾶλιν παιδὶ σὺν ἀμφιθαλεῖ.

Soph. *Ant.* 629 schol. *τᾶλις λέγεται παρ' Αἰολεῦσιν ἡ ὀνομασθεῖσά τινι νύμφη· Καλλίμαχος 'αὐτίκα τὴν τᾶλιν παιδὶ σὺν ἀμφιθαλεῖ.'*

Unmethodisch has now for many years been an empty term of objurgation, bestowed by those who use it upon any process leading to a conclusion which was not regarded with favour in the *Seminar* where their opinions were made for them. But it once had a meaning, and in the meaning which it once had it is applicable to the editor's adoption of *αὐτίκα* for *ἄρσενι* in the third of these verses. The authority of a citation by a scholiast or grammarian or lexicographer is greater than the authority of a MS in respect of the word or words upon which the citation turns. When for example Nonius pp. 410 sq. says '*tendere* est dirigere . . . Lucretius lib. i primum Graius homo mortalis *tendere* contra est oculos ausus,' Lachmann rationally prefers this lection to the *tollere* of the MSS at Lucr. i 66, and the note in which Munro attempts to controvert him is pure irrelevancy. But in words immaterial to the purpose of the citation the grammarian who quotes is more liable to error than the clerk who transcribes; and when Nonius p. 175 says '*serescit* positum pro siccatur . . . Lucretius, lib. i . . . eaedem candenti sole *serescunt*,' that does not shake the testimony of the MSS that what Lucretius wrote at i 306 was 'eaedem dispansae in sole serescunt.' If the papyrus here offered *νύμφην* or anything else instead of *τᾶλιν*, *τᾶλιν* must nevertheless be read, for in that particular the authority of the scholium is paramount; but as to every other word in the verse the papyrus is the surer witness.

ἄρσενι therefore is to be retained; and its retention renders more plainly impossible what was impossible already, the editor's interpretation of *κούρῳ* and *παιδὶ ἀμφιθαλεῖ* as designating Cydippe's bridegroom, 'the youth,' 'her all-favoured suitor.' *κούρῳ* means a boy, and *ἄρσενι παιδὶ ἀμφιθαλεῖ* means a male child whose two parents are alive. We knew already from the scholia

on *Il.* xiv 296 that the Naxians had a marriage-custom commemorating the old scandal that Hera was not a virgin when she wedded Zeus; and now from Callimachus we learn what it was: a prenuptial ceremony, in which a *puer patrimus et matrimus* was laid abed with the bride.

The editor's opinion that the first three lines and a half are spoken by Acontius is no better founded than his belief that *εὐνάσατο* in u. 1 and *ηὐδάσατο* in u. 21 appertain respectively to *εὐνᾶσθαι* and *αὐδᾶσθαι*.

4—7.

Ἥρην γάρ κοτέ φασι—κύον κύον, ἴσχεο, λαιδρὲ
θυμέ, σύ γ' ἀείσῃ καὶ τά περ οὐχ ὁσίη·
ὤναο κάρθ', ἕνεκ' οὔ τι θεῆς ἴδες ἱερὰ φρικτῆς,
ἐξενέπειν καὶ τῶν ἤρυγες ἱστορίην.

This ungrammatical and senseless *ἐξενέπειν* is a correction: the first hand wrote quite rightly *εξανεπει*:

ἐξ ἂν ἐπεὶ καὶ τῶν ἤρυγες ἱστορίην.

The tmesis of *ἐξήρυγες* has parallels not only elsewhere in Callimachus, *hymn.* iii 235 *θυμὸν ἀπ' ἄγριον εἵλεο παίδων*, v 97 *μετὰ πάντα βαλεῦ*, *epigr.* 2 6 *ἐπὶ χεῖρα βαλεῖ*, 48 3 sq. *ἀνὰ τῆδε κεχηνὼς | κεῖμαι* (that is *ἀνάκειμαι*, not *ἀνακεχηνώς*, as may be seen by comparing 49 2 and Ael. *h. a.* vii 48 and Plin. *n. h.* viii 58), *frag.* 247 *τὸ δ' ἐκ μέλαν εἶαρ ἔλαπτεν*, but also here in the *aetia*, 62 *μετ' οὔνομα δ' ἄλλο καλεῖσθαι*, 86 *σὺν μύθους ἐβάλοντο*: the most similar instance to *ἐξ ἂν . . . ἤρυγες* is *hymn.* vi 26 *διά κεν μόλις ἦνθεν ὀιστός*. In *hymn.* i 15 *ἐπεί* is again the third word of its clause, *ἔνθα σ' ἐπεί*, and yet again in iv 153 *πολλὰ πάροιθεν ἐπεὶ κάμεν*; indeed the postponement of conjunctions is a vice of Callimachus' style, and we soon come to other examples like 12 *δειελινὴν τὴν δέ*, 23 (as corrected by Platt) *Λύγδαμιν οὐ γάρ*, 26 *Ἀκόντιον ὅπποτε*, 30 *ἄργυρον οὐ μολίβῳ γάρ*, 36 *αἰτεῖσθαι τὸ δ' ἄημα*.

10—15.

ἠῷοι μὲν ἔμελλον ἐν ὕδατι θυμὸν ἀμύξειν
οἱ βόες ὀξεῖαν δερκόμενοι δορίδα,
δειελινὴν τὴν δ' εἶλε κακὸς χλόος, εἶλε δὲ νοῦσος
αἶγας ἐς ἀγριάδας τὴν ἀποπεμπόμεθα
ψευδόμενοι δ' ἱερὴν φημίζομεν· ἦ τότ' ἀνιγρὴ
τὴν κούρην ἀ[ίδ]εω μέχρις ἔτηξε δόμων.

This, as Professor Platt pointed out to me, is the right punctuation of 11 and 12 (not *δορίδα | δειελινὴν, τὴν δ'*), since *δερκόμενοι* cannot mean 'having in prospect.' All was ready for the wedding-sacrifice next morning, when the bride fell sick on the marriage eve. It remains to interpret the distich 10 sq., and this can be done with the aid of Ovid. At *fast.* i 329 sq., discussing the

etymology of the name *agonalis*, he suggests a derivation from the Greek *ἀγωνία* in these verses:

an, quia praeuisos in aqua timet hostia cultros,
a pecoris lux est ipsa notata metu?

and he repeats the picture in *met.* xv 134 sq. (uictima) 'sanguine cultros | inficit, in liquida praeuisos forsitan unda.' The ox, while the priest *κατάρχεται* by cutting a tuft of hair from its forehead, is supposed to see the knife reflected in the *χέρνιψ* and to be pitifully alarmed. The construction therefore is *ἐν ὕδατι δερκόμενοι δορίδα*. Callimachus' *aetia* served Ovid as a model for his *fasti* both in theme and in form, and he may have had this very passage in his mind, for *θυμὸν ἀμύσσειν* means much the same as *ἀγωνιᾶν*. In *Il.* i 243 sq. the mental pain described by *θυμὸν ἀμύξεις* is defined by *χωόμενος*; at Aesch. *Pers.* 114, as here, the emotion signified is fear: *φρὴν ἀμύσσεται φόβῳ*.

In u. 15 my supplement is necessary and obvious: her malady wasted her to death's door. Aristaenetus paraphrases *ἄφνω νενόσηκεν ἡ παῖς, καὶ πρὸς ἐκφορὰν ἀντὶ νυμφαγωγίας οἱ τεκόντες ἑώρων*.

26—29.

Δήλῳ δ' ἦν ἐπίδημος, Ἀκόντιον ὅπποτε σὴ παῖς
ὤμοσεν, οὐκ ἄλλον, νυμφίον ἐξέμεναι
α . . . υξ ἀλλ' ἤν μ' ἐθέλῃς συμφράδμονα θέσθαι
πάντα τελευτήσεις ὅρκια θυγατέρος.

Artemis, says Apollo to Cydippe's father, was present in Delos when your daughter swore to wed none but Acontius. In u. 28 I can think of no substantive or adjective or adverb ending in *-υξ* which would be suitable and satisfactory, so I suppose that these letters are the elided termination of a verb. Here it is to be remembered that *ἀλλά* need not in Callimachus stand at the beginning of its clause: *hymn.* i 18 *Λάδων ἀλλ' οὔπω μέγας ἔρρεεν*, *epigr.* 5 11 *Κλεινίου ἀλλὰ θυγατρὶ δίδου χάριν*. The editor reports that what precedes *υξ* may be *η* or *ν* or *γρ* or *τρ*; that is to say, there is nothing distinguishable but two upright strokes, and these may be the two last strokes of HP. I conjecture therefore

ἀ[κήρ]υξ' ἀλλ' ἤν μ' ἐθέλῃς συμφράδμονα θέσθαι,

i.e. *συμφράδμονα τούτων ἃ ἐκήρυξα*, 'if you would like to have my advice about this information.' *κηρύσσειν* often means no more than *tell*, as in Soph. *Trach.* 96 sqq. *Ἄλιον αἰτῶ τοῦτο καρῦξαι, τὸν Ἀλκμήνας πόθι μοι . . . ναίει ποτέ*.

32—35.

Κοδρείδης σύ γ' ἄνωθεν ὁ πενθερὸς, αὐτὰρ ὁ Κεῖος
γαμβρὸς Ἀρισταίου . . τ̣ιος ἀμφ' ἱερῶν
Ἰκμίου, οἷσι μέμηλεν ἐπ' οὔρεος ἀμβώνεσσιν
πρηύνειν χαλεπὴν Μαῖραν ἀνερχομένην.

The relative *οἷσι* has no antecedent, and there seems to be no other place where the adjective Ἴκμιος or Ἰκμαῖος is found without the substantive *Ζεύς*. Therefore, as the *ἀμφ'* of u. 33 has been corrected in the papyrus to *ἀφ'* ('unaccountably' says the editor), I feel sure that the strokes doubtfully deciphered as TI are really N, and that Callimachus wrote

Ἀρισταίου [Ζη]νὸς ἀφ' ἱερ<έ>ων
Ἰκμίου,

'sprung from the priests of Aristaeus, also called Zeus Icmius': schol. Apoll. Rhod. ii 498 Ζεὺς Ἀρισταῖος ἐκλήθη. The lengthening of the short initial syllable, so common in *ἱερός* and some of its compounds, is rare, because seldom needful or even convenient, in *ἱερεύς*; but Callimachus similarly writes *ἱερέη Δήμητρος* in *epigr.* 40 1. Professor Wilamowitz's [λή]ιτος ἀμφ' *ἱερῶν* cannot be right: had Acontius been a priest of Aristaeus (and the story gives no hint of such a thing), he could not at a moment's notice have changed his abode to Naxos and abandoned Ceos to the dog-star.

The wrongly formed patronymic Κοδρείδης, *κατὰ πλεονασμὸν τοῦ ε̄*, is to be added to the Λαγείδας of Theocritus, the *Tyrrhīdes* of Virgil, and the *Belīdes* and *Lycurgīdes* of Ovid: the Ἀδραστειδῶν θάλος of *etym. magn.* p. 18 48 seems to be nothing but a false version of Pind. *Ol.* ii 80. Priscian *G.L.K.* ii p. 67 mentions *Codrīdes* among names which 'contra regulam paenultimas uocales producunt,' but in the same sentence he displays such ignorance and confusion that it has not hitherto been possible to trust him.

38—43.

ἦ θεός· αὐτὰρ ὁ Νάξον ἔβη πάλιν, εἴρετο δ' αὐτὴν
κούρην, ἡ δ' ἀνετῳς πᾶν ἐκάλυψεν ἔπος
κηναυσῳσῳτ. λοιπὸν, Ἀκόντιε, σεῖο μετελθεῖν
ϙτατιτην ἰδίην ἐς Διονυσιάδα.
χὴ θεὸς εὐορκεῖτο, καὶ ἥλικες αὐτίχ' ἑταίρης
ἤδον ὑμηναίους οὐκ ἀναβαλλομένους.

Mr Wilamowitz will have repented ere now of his dealings with verses 39-41, and I say nothing of the corruptions which the editor has imported into the text at his suggestion. Our difficulties begin with u. 39, where *ἐκάλυψεν* gives the opposite of the sense required. Cydippe, when her father came home from Delphi and questioned her, did not conceal the truth: she made a clean breast of it, and there was an end of the trouble. We have the context: the narrative is rushing to its close, and the poet did not put this spoke in his own wheel. Instead of *ἐκάλυψεν* we want *ἀνεκάλυψεν*, and Mr Platt obtains it by writing *ἡ δ' ἀνέτως κἀνεκάλυψεν ἔπος|κἤνευσε*. There is no reason why *ἀνέτως* should not mean 'frankly,' though it does not seem to be found in this sense or indeed in any other;[1] but *πᾶν* can ill be spared: compare *epigr.* i 8 *πᾶν*

[1] The entry in Hesychius, *ἀνετῶς* (so accentuated)· *ἀνατεταμένως* (*ἀνατεταλμένως* cod.)· Σοφοκλῆς Τυμπανισταῖς, can have nothing to do with the adverb of *ἄνετος*; and I remark that *ἀνατεταμένως* would be a correct explanation of *ἀτενῶς*. At Hesych. *ἀτετως*· *ἀφροντίστως* it has been proposed to write *ἀνετῶς*, and *ἀνέτως* may very well be the true reading.

ἐρέουσιν ἔπος. Now in the papyrus the required verb ἀνεκάλυψεν is actually present in tmesis, ἡ δ' ἀν' . . . πᾶν ἐκάλυψεν ἔπος; but the four letters ετῳς are a puzzle. Hesychius indeed has ἐτά· ἀληθῆ, but the adverb ἐτῶς, even if it existed, would not suit the image of ἀνεκάλυψεν; and whether an adverb is the part of speech required we cannot yet be sure, for the following distich first needs consideration.

Here Mr Platt completes his sentence thus: κἤνευσ', ὡς σοὶ λοιπὸν, Ἀκόντιε, σεῖο μετελθεῖν | ἔσται τὴν ἰδίην ἐς Διονυσιάδα, 'it will remain for you, Acontius, to come and seek in Naxos her who is yours and none other's.' σεῖο τὴν ἰδίην as a description of Cydippe (who ὤμοσεν οὐκ ἄλλον νυμφίον ἐξέμεναι) seems clearly right, and the general sense procured, except for one thing, is satisfactory. The exception of course is the future tense of ἔσται, which has no business whatever in the midst of all these preterites. Moreover the editor acknowledges in his note that ἔσται cannot really be deciphered, and from his very careful and minute account of the ductus litterarum I gather that they could just as well, if not better, be interpreted as εἶπαι: of this aorist Callimachus has the forms εἶπα εἶπας εἶπαν εἴπατε εἴπας εἴπαο, and the infinitive is restored by Kaibel at *epigr.* 46 8 τοῦτ' εἶπαι for τουτιπαι. In the hexameter the editor reports that the initial ϗ may be a β, and himself suggests βῆ ναῦς; the letter in the gap before λοιπόν, he says, is more like ε than anything else. The tradition therefore may fairly be represented thus,

βηναυσωσοτελοιπονακοντιεσειομετελθειν
ειπαιτηνιδιηνεσδιονυσιαδα·

and it makes a sentence, if only we repeat the σ which is the eighth letter of the hexameter. Perhaps even this will be no innovation, for it has above it something 'which might represent an interlinear addition by the first hand.'

βῆ ναῦς ὡς <σ'>, ὅ τε λοιπὸν, Ἀκόντιε, σεῖο μετελθεῖν
εἶπαι τὴν ἰδίην ἐς Διονυσιάδα·

'a ship sailed off to Acontius to bid him for the future come over to his own sworn bride in Naxos.' The preposition ὡς occurs in *frag.* 89 ἐκεῖνος δ' ὡς Χίλων' ἀπέστειλεν, and the ἐς of the pentameter was a reason for using it here. ὅ τε λοιπόν in this dialect is the same as ὃ λοιπόν in Aesch. *Ag.* 1571 ὃ δὲ λοιπὸν, ἰόντ' | ἐκ τῶνδε δόμων ἄλλην γενεὰν | τρίβειν θανάτοις αὐθένταισιν, *quod superest.* βῆ . . . ὡς . . . εἶπαι seems less likely.

Now to return to the ετῳς of u. 39: I suspect that the τ may possibly be the first half of π (see for instance the π of πολλά in the facsimile at u. 85); and then the second half of the letter, together with ει, would occupy just the same space as ως. At any rate ἐπεί (or ὅπως or ὅκως, if that were nearer to the MS) would link the two couplets together:

ἡ δ' ἀν' ἐπεὶ πᾶν ἐκάλυψεν ἔπος
βῆ ναῦς κ.τ.λ.

44—46.

οὔ σε δοκέω τημοῦτος, Ἀκόντιε, νυκτὸς ἐκείνης
ἀντί κε, τῆς μίτρης ἥψαο παρθενίης,
οὐ σφυρὸν Ἰφίκλειον (δέξασθαι).

The construction, which I have marked by adding commas, is rightly understood by Professor Murray: δέξασθαί κ' ἀντὶ νυκτὸς ἐκείνης. But there is no sufficient reason why τῆς should be changed as he proposes to τῇ: τῆς is ἧς νυκτός, *qua nocte eunte*. As for ambiguity, a sentence is not ambiguous when sense permits it to be construed in one way only; and it is no more possible here to join τῆς with μίτρης than to join ἐς with με in *epigr.* 2 1 sq. ἐς δέ με δάκρυ | ἤγαγεν.

The little that I venture to say on the long but cruelly effaced and mutilated fragment of the *iambi* may be added as an appendix.

130—133.

ἐκεῖνο τοὐλόχρυσον
οὑμὸς πατὴρ ἐφεῖτο
δοῦ[ν' ὅσ]τις ὑμέων τῶν σοφῶν ὀνήιστος
τῶν ἑπτά.

Such elisions are found in Herodas, but not in the iambic remains of Callimachus nor of Hipponax and the rest of his predecessors. On the other hand Callimachus does employ τίς as a relative, *epigr.* 28 2, *hymn.* iv 185, *frag.* 272, *aet.* 60. Write therefore δοῦ[ναι] τίς.

198.

καὶ θεοὺς ἀπρηγεῦνται.

ἀπρηγεῦντας would at least be Greek and possess a meaning.

222, 223.

καὶ Πυθίη γὰρ ἐν δάφνῃ μὲν ἵδρυται
δάφνην δ' ἀείδει καὶ δάφνην ὑπέστρωται.

The Pythoness does not 'sing of laurel' as the editor makes her, but laurel issues from her lips in song, inasmuch as she chews bay-leaves before prophesying and draws her inspiration thence. Lycophr. 6 δαφνηφάγων φοίβαζεν ἐκ λαιμῶν ὅπα, schol. εἰώθασιν οἱ μάντεις δάφνας προεσθίειν. Mr Wilamowitz's ἀείρει is therefore needless.

The olive appears to have retorted that bay-leaves, considered as a diet, are less nourishing than oil; for the verses 286 sq. end with οἱ μάντεις and οὔτε πιαίνεις.

253—255.

κῶς ἄεθλον οὐκ ἐγὼ κρέσσων
σεῦ; ϙαιγ· ϱουγῳῇνουλυμπιημεζων
ἢ 'ν τοῖσι Δελφοῖς· ἀλλ' ἄριστον ἡ σωπή.

The editor prints *κοῦ γὰρ ὠγὼν, ἢ 'ν 'Ολυμπίῃ μέζων* κ.τ.λ. with interrogation: to me the relics rather suggest

καὶ γὰρ ὠγὼν οὖν 'Ολυμπίῃ μέζων
ἢ 'ν τοῖσι Δελφοῖς·

though the construction is then slightly negligent, since in strictness it should be *ἢ ὁ ἐν τ. Δ.*

294, 295.

οὐκ, ὦ τάλαιναι, παυσόμεσθα; μὴ λ̣ειῃν̣
γενώμεθ' ἐχθραῖς.

λίην . . . ἐχθραί Wilamowitz. I think that *ἐχθραῖς* should be retained, and that the characters at the end of the verse ('*λειην* is extremely doubtful; it is not clear exactly how far the line extends' says the editor) should be scrutinised to see if they do not conceal *χλεύη* or *λάσθη*.

Finally I subjoin a correction which I find in my margin at *epigr.* 54 3.

τὸ χρέος ὡς ἀπέχεις, 'Ασκλήπιε, τὸ πρὸ γυναικὸς
Δημοδίκης 'Ακέσων ὤφελεν εὐξάμενος,
γινώσκειν· ἢν δ' ἆρα λάθῃ καί μιν ἀπαιτῇς
φησὶ παρέξεσθαι μαρτυρίην ὁ πίναξ.

The last and worst that has been written on this epigram will be found on pp. 156 sq. of the *Rheinisches Museum* for this year, where Mr Gomperz, repeating an old conjecture of Salmasius', discusses u. 3 without perceiving that *λάθῃ* is 2nd pers. middle. The gist of the whole is plain: Asclepius has been paid his dues, but if by any chance he forgets, and claims them again, the tablet will serve as a reminder. One word therefore is lacking to the sense and one syllable to the metre:

ἢν δ' ἆρα λάθῃ καὶ <δίς> μιν ἀπαιτῇς.

δίς of course is not the same thing as *πάλιν*, nor *bis* as *iterum*, nor *twice* as *again*; but there are occasions when it matters nothing which you say, and this is one of them.

A. E. Housman.

SOME PASSAGES OF THE CATALEPTON.

A GOOD edition of the Catalepton has long been wanted: and Birt's recently published 'Erklärung,'[1] despite some obvious defects, may fairly be regarded as a good book. It is at any rate fresh, interesting, and stimulating. The text is on the whole, though not always, sensible. The commentary is full without being too full. But, more valuable still, both commentary and introduction constantly bring home to one the probability that nearly *all* the poems in this collection are genuinely Vergilian—'Jugendverse und Heimatpoesie Vergils.' No editor before Birt has brought before us so clearly the environment out of which these poems came.

The publication of Birt's book gives me an opportunity of saying a word or two about some vexed passages. To what I have to say of these passages I shall add a few notes upon passages where I think that Birt's judgment is at fault. These latter passages I shall do little more than mention: and they should not be allowed to tell against the merits of the book as a whole.

i. a.

uere rosa, autumno pomis, aestate frequentor
spicis: una mihi est horrida pestis hiemps.
nam frigus metuo, et uereor ne ligneus ignem
hic deus ignaris praebeat agricolis.

In l. 1 Lachmann long ago corrected to *pomis autumno*, and it might be thought that after his elaborate note (with the additions of L. Mueller *R.M.* pp. 284 sqq.) there was nothing more to be said on the elision of the last vowel of an iambic disyllable. Yet I believe that I can add something even to Lachmann and Mueller, and something which can make it clear once and for all that *autumno pomis*—retained by both Ellis and Birt—is wrong. I will offer two observations:

1. No dactylic poet earlier than the Christian writers ever elides the last vowel of a pure iambic disyllable save (*a*) before a monosyllable (as Verg. *Ecl.* 1. 13, 'ago hanc'); (*b*) before a word of which the first syllable is a monosyllabic preposition—*a*, *ab*, *e*, *ex*, *in*, *ob* (as Verg. *Aen.* 11. 383, 'proinde tona eloquio'); (*c*) before a word of which the first syllable is, in appearance and

[1] *Erklärung des Cataleptons*, von Theodor Birt. Teubner. 1910.

form, though not in meaning or grammar, such a monosyllabic preposition (as Juv. 6. 327, 'morae impatiens'); (*d*) before *atque* and *ante* when the last syllables of those words are elided (as *Ecl.* 3. 78, 'amo ante alias').

The only exception that I can find, *Aen.* 2. 261, 'bina dabo argento,' is only an apparent exception; the last syllable of dabo is short, as already in Catullus 13. 11, 'unguentum dabo.'

What I have said of the dactylic poets applies also to other poets save for Catullus 10. 2 'foro otiosum,' 50. 1 'die otiosi,' 22. 7 'noui umbilici'—with one or two exceptions, possibly, in iambic poetry (where the usage of common speech asserts itself in a metre less far removed from it—as Aristotle noted—than any other). At Seneca, *Troades* 973 we should perhaps read 'mihi ignota est meae.'

These rules go far beyond those of Lachmann and Mueller, but they are based on the examples collected by those scholars; and they leave no room for 'rosā autumno.'

2. An important principle of all Latin poetical composition—and one very dominant in Vergil—is that words of like category tend to attract one another. I open the *Aeneid* at random for an illustration of this (*Aen.* vii. init.):

> aeternam-moriens famam-Caieta dedisti,
> et nunc servat honos-sedem tuus, ossaque-nomen . . .
> diues-inaccessos ubi Solis-filia-lucos . . .
> urit odoratam-nocturna in lumina-cedrum
> arguto-tenuis percurrens pectine-telas.

So here *rosa-pomis*, *autumno-aestate* are drawn to one another naturally and necessarily.

In ll. 3–4 Birt rightly retains 'ne ligneus ignem hic deus ignaris praebeat' ('lectus in ignem hic deus ignauis praebear,' Ellis). But he might have called attention to the manner in which the assonance guarantees the text. Not only is the threefold *ign-* obviously designed, but it is difficult not to suppose also that there is an intentional play on 'igneus, hic deus.' Contemporary parallels (setting aside Lucr. 1. 912 'ignes, lignis') are Dirae 129, 'tauro Ioue digna uel auro'; Catullus 11. 6 '*Sag*as *sag*ittiferosque Parthos'; and in Vergil's later work there are a good many—e.g. *Aen.* 3. 183 '*cass*us *Cass*andra canebat'; 3. 540 'bello *arman*tur equi, bellum haec *armen*ta minantur: outside Vergil: Manilius 2. 926, 'haec *tutela* decet Venerem *sua tela* mouere.'

iii. a.

14. 'uua pampinea rubens educata sub umbra.'

ii. a. 8. 'uirente dulcis uua pampino' is different, since there what is spoken of is bunches of grapes, offered to the god, plucked with their natural leafage. But here we are speaking of the *educatio* of a vine, and the umbra under which one naturally thinks of a vine being 'educated' is the umbra of a *fagus* or a

populus. Though *pampinea* here, therefore, may easily be defended, I think that Vergil perhaps wrote *faginea*. This would account for the corrupt *sanguinea* (=*faginea*) in the same foot in the line following. *Populea* (Horace, *Epod.* 2. 9–10, 'adulta uitium propagine | altas maritat *populos*') is almost equally near to the 'ductus litterarum.'

17–18.

pro quis † omnia honoribus hoc † necesse Priapo est
praestare.

Priapo est B. Priape *cett.*

Birt's *omni honoribus* (=omnibus honoribus) fairly takes one's breath away. Remedies so desperate testify, however, that the disease is deep-seated. I would suggest that Vergil wrote—

pro quis quicquid honoris est hoc necesse Priapo.

omnia

The text arose from a gloss *omnia* thus: quicquid honoris ē, honoriſe being read as honorib. *Praestare* will then mean 'make a return.'

ii. b.

Corinthiorum amator iste uerborum,
iste iste rhetor† namque quatenus totus†
Thucydides, pyraunus Atticae febris,
'tau Gallicum' 'min' 'ipsun' 'em' male elisit:
ista omnia ista uerba miscuit fratri.

2. *versum om. Quintilian.* 3. pyraunus *scripsi:* tyrannus *codd.* Britannus *Quint.* 4. 'min,' 'ipsun,' 'em,' *scripsi:* mi(n)et psin (spin) et *codd.* enim et (ut) spine(t) *Quint.* elisit Wagner: illisit (illi sit) *codd.*, *Quint.* [From Ausonius Grammaticomastix, 5 sqq., it may be inferred that for et psin (ipsun) he read et sil, and, for male, al.]

Quintilian, who quotes this poem, omitting l. 2, does so in order to illustrate the 'odiosa cura' with which certain Latin writers employ obsolete expressions. As obsolete expressions he instances *oppido*, *antegerio*, *autumo*, and others. Some obsolete words, he goes on to say, one sometimes cannot avoid using, as *nuncupare*, *fari* (no doubt when an orator is dealing with some legal or ceremonial point). 'Multa alia etiam audentius inseri possunt, sed ita demum si non apparet affectatio: in quam mirifice Vergilius'—and then follow ll. 1. 3-5 of our poem. 'Nec minus noto Salustius epigrammate incessitur . . .' (8. 3. 28). From the last words it is clear that this poem was famous in Quintilian's time, and presumably intelligible. From the passage as a whole it *ought to be* clear that Quintilian is speaking throughout of *Latin* writers or speakers, and that the obsolete words of which he complains are throughout Latin words. Is it credible (even though Baehrens, Bücheler, Birt credit it) that he would speak of the 'insertion' of *μὶν* and *σφὶν* as, in comparison with

nuncupare (or *antegerio*), 'audentius'? And, even if he could, how could the fondness for these non-Attic words be described as *Attica febris*?

But if Quintilian is speaking of Latin writers and Latin expressions, what are the expressions which were objected to in Cimber? My restoration of l. 4, which departs but a very little from the *ductus litterarum*, furnishes, I believe, a better answer to this question than any yet suggested. *Min*=*mihine* is familiar to us from Persius l. 2; *ipsun* is for *ipsusne* (as *sanun*, etc., in Plautus): the archaism *ipsus*, is well attested; *em* (for the *e* or *et* of the MSS.)=*eum* rests on the authority of Festus: if used by Cimber, it was probably used in the citation of some early legal document. Cimber took all these strange words and 'mixed them' for his brother. He 'crushed them up,' *elisit*, in a horrid manner. But he also 'elided' them, metrically, in a horrid manner. For, allowing for some harsh elisions, they give us (setting aside the syllable taug-) the potent mixture *allec, cumminum, ἰψὸν* (see Heyne's note) *αἶμ'*, *ἄλ[α]*. (We may perhaps postulate some unknown herb tauga[-um], togum[-us].)[1]

Cimber's brother died of this potion. It was no doubt given out that he had died of a fever or chill (febris). Cimber was the 'pyraunus' of this 'Attic fever.' For 'Attica febris' as a literary disease compare, perhaps, Catullus' use of *frigus* at 44. 19.

Why does Vergil take Thucydides as the type of archaising Atticist? It is idle for Birt to quote Cicero *Orator* 32, 'cum mutila et hiantia locuti sunt . . . germanos se putant Thucydidas.' Cimber is not here charged with the archaism of sentences *mutila* and *hiantia*, but with archaism of *vocabulary*. This kind of archaism might not at first sight be thought Thucydidean. See Dionysius *ad Pompeium* 77 5: *Ἡρόδοτός τε γὰρ τῆς Ἰάδος [διαλέκτου] ἄριστος κανὼν Θουκυδίδης δὲ τῆς Ἀτθίδος;* 'Thucydides is the model of pure Attic diction' (cf. *De Thuc.* 27). Yet elsewhere, though very vaguely, Dionysius seems to charge Thucydides with actual archaism of vocabulary. Only this can be meant by what is said in *De Thuc.* 50 of the persons who defend, in historical writing, *τὴν φράσιν τὴν γλωττηματικὴν καὶ ἀπηρχαιωμένην*. But, apart from this passage, the charge is not, I fancy, one often brought against Thucydides; and Vergil may very well be thought to have selected Thucydides (merely as being the favourite model of the archaising Atticists of the day) without caring to consider how far the archaism of Thucydides was that specifically of vocabulary.

In the first line of our poem, the meaning of *Corinthiorum uerborum* has not been satisfactorily elucidated. Birt is content with comparing Corinthia aera 'antique bronzes'; but the comparison is obviously worthless. Have we some reference to the proverb *Διὸς Κόρινθος*? (Pindar, *Nem.* 7 fin.). Corinth, no doubt, also suggests Medea's poisons, and there may be an intentional play on *uerborum* and *herbarum*.

The second line is a *uersus desperatissimus*. Birt thinks that it was omitted by Quintilian as being already in his time corrupted out of understanding.

[1] *Tau Gallicum* is, no doubt, rightly explained as 'a gallows.'

He is undoubtedly right in saying that *namque* is impossible, and perhaps right in saying the same of *quatenus*. Is *namque* possibly a mere 'metrical stopgap'? If we remove it, we are left with 'iste iste rhetor quatenus totus.' *Tenus totus* suggests *uetustatis*. May not *qua* be a blunder for *gratia*=$\overline{gra}$? *Gratia uetustatis* will then be τῶν ἀρχαϊσμῶν ἕνεκα. But there is something to be said for the view of Baehrens that the line is not genuine. *Rhetor* for *orator* is perhaps suspicious; and *quatenus totus* may represent a gloss, ('quia uetustatus,' or the like,) on l. 3.

I would add that I am not wholly satisfied with the view that *Britannus* in l. 3 is impossible. Juvenal's 'qua neque terribiles Cimbri nec Britones unquam' (15. 124) leaves it still a question whether there was not a tribe of Britanni among, or in the neighbourhood of, the Cimbri.

[If namque in l. 2 be retained, then iste iste rhetor (namque quot *u*enust*a*t*e*s!) is, perhaps, just tolerable.]

vii.

Scilicet hoc sine fraude, Vari dulcissime, dicam:
dispeream nisi me perdidit iste putus.
sin autem praecepta uetant me dicere, sane
non dicam, sed me perdidit iste puer.

Birt in l. 2 returns from Scaliger's *putus* to the MSS. *pothus*=πόθος. The πόθος, or puer, he takes to be Vergil's freedman Eros—and this after complaining of persons who in i. b. wove romances round the name Delia!

In l. 3 Birt suggests *ita* for *me*: perhaps *sin tua me . . . ita*.

ix. 15-16.

carmina quae Pylium, saeclis accepta futuris,
carmina quae Pylium uincere digna senem.

15. Phrygium *Heinsius, edd.* (Prygium, Birt, strangely).

Birt seems to me to misunderstand these lines. He imagines the writer to be telling Messalla that his (Messalla's) poems will be as long-lived as Priam and Nestor. Truly 'ein kümmerliches Prognostikum,' as he says! Even bad poets cannot help hoping for immortality; and to promise them Nestor's three generations is to pay them a poor compliment. Nestor is no doubt often 'Beispiel höchster Senectus'; but what is more to the point here is that he is often also 'Beispiel höchster Beredsamkeit'—a type of the highest eloquence, even in poetry. Look, for example, in the Anthology at Nicarchus' epigram on Telephanes (Stadtmueller, No. 159):

Ὀρφεὺς μὲν κιθάρᾳ πλεῖστον γέρας ἔιλετο θνητῶν,
Νέστωρ δὲ γλώσσης ἡδυλόγου σοφίῃ,
τεκτοσύνῃ δ' ἐπέων πολυίστωρ θεῖος Ὅμηρος,
Τηλεφανὴς δ' αὐλοῖς, οὗ τάφος ἐστὶν ὅδε.

It would be tempting in our poem to retain *Pylium* in 15, and write *Chium* for the *Pylium* of 16. But look now at the well-known 'ecloga' of Valgius, preserved by the Veronese scholiast on Vergil, *Ecl.* 7. 22:

> Codrusque ille canit quali tu uoce canebas
> atque solet numeros dicere, Cinna, tuos:
> dulcius ut nunquam Pylio profluxerit ore
> Nestoris aut *docto* pectore Demod*oci*.[1]

Unger long ago conjectured that Valgius was the author of Catalepton IX. This view has nothing at all to support it. But the resemblance between *Catal.* IX, 15-16, and Valgius 3-4 is noticeable. I would suggest that the author of Catalepton IX. wrote

> carmina quae Pylium, saeclis accepta futuris,
> carmina quae *Scherium* uincere digna senem.

Scherium = *Phaeacium:* but the scribe accidentally repeated *Pylium* from the line above (it is less likely that in 15 he would anticipate *Pylium* in 16); *uincere* will then mean not *diuturnitate uincere*, but *dulcedine* (γλώσσης ἡδυλόγου σοφίῃ) superare.

xi. 1-2

> Quis deus, Octaui, te nobis abstulit? au quae
> †dicunt animi† pocula dura mero.

2. dicunt *B.M.:* dicuntur *Ar. Med.:* animi B.: animo *cett. nisi quod* a nimio urb. 353; dicunt Centaurum, *Birt.*

Birt's *Centaurum* in l. 2 is brilliant and certain; his *dicunt* is more doubtful. It seems likely that the *dicunt* of B.M. represents an original *dicunt̃*
a
i.e., the *dicuntur* of *Ar. Med.* *Centaurum nimio* passed through *centurū nimio*
i
to *cuntur animo*, and the meaningless *cuntur* was altered then to *dicuntur*. I would prefer, therefore, without attaching any independent value to the *a nimio* of Urb. 353 to write:

> an quo*d*
> Centaurum, nimio pocula dura mero.

My *an quod* for the *anque* of B.M. brings us a degree nearer to Callimachus' ἦ ῥα τὸ καὶ Κένταυρον; and I doubt whether *pocula dura mero*, without some such adjective as *nimio* qualifying *mero*, is Latin.

For the reference to the Centaur (Eurytion) see Homer *Od.* 21. 295, Propertius 2. 2. 10, 2. 33. 31. The number of epigrams in the Greek anthology on persons supposed to have died of drink is very striking. See in Stadtmueller, Nos. 329, 353, 374, 398, 422, 454-7, 533, 660, 725. Nos. 353, 374, 456-7 show that women were not exempt from this reproach.

[1] I give Keil's correction of l. 4.

I append, as I promised, a few stray notes on passages where I judge that Birt has taken up a position which will satisfy very few besides himself:

ii. a. g. *gelata* for *glauca cocta* is hardly an improvement on previous editors.

ib. 14. 'teneraque matre mugiente uaccula.' (1) Birt makes no attempt to defend the metre; (2) *tenera* as an epithet of *matre* as meaningless, and *uaccula* cries out for a qualifying epithet; (3) the argument against *buculus* (with *tener*) amounts to very little; and B.'s *uacula* points clearly that way.

iii. c. 1. *egō* is a German superstition that dies hard.

ib. 17. 'consonantal *hoc*': do.

i. b. 1. 'De qua saepe tibi, uenit': 'she of whom I have often told you, has come,' would be strange enough if it occurred only once. But its recurrence in l. 3 makes it a patent absurdity. Scaliger's *Delia* is, at least, not so difficult as this.

V. 2. 'inflata *rhythmo* achaico' is paleographically poor; and the objection which Birt brings against *inflata rore* is a false one.

iii. b. Birt interprets this poem, as others have done, of Alexander. But his explanation of 'patria pulsus in exilium' is wholly unconvincing. He ought at least to have mentioned the view of Nettleship and Baehrens that Phraates is the person intended.

ib. 9-10. Birt takes *nutu* as = *nutui*, and retains *dedit*. This is to strain at a gnat and swallow a camel.

viii. 2. 'tu quoque: "steht wie *uel tu*. Wir brauchen kein *tum*"' is a somewhat unscholarly and inadequate note.

H. W. Garrod.

TWO EDITIONS OF THE *CHARACTERS* OF THEOPHRASTVS.

Theophrasti Characteres recensuit HERMANNUS DIELS. Oxford Classical Texts. 1909. 3s. 6d. net. Pp. xxviii + (unnumbered).

Θεοφράστου Χαρακτῆρες. *The Characters of Theophrastus.* An English Translation from a Revised Text. With Introduction and Notes by R. C. JEBB, M.A. A new edition. Edited by J. E. SANDYS, Litt.D. Macmillan. 1909. 7s. 6d. net. c. 23 × 14½. Pp. xvi + 229.

PROFESSOR DIELS has given us a good edition of the *Characters*. Working upon photographs of the three principal MSS., he has corrected our reading of A and B in forty places and of V in twelve, and those who cry 'A B V first, and the rest nowhere,' may regard his text as final. It contains the best suggestions of other scholars and several striking emendations of his own; it does justice to A and B in the few sections which they contain in common with V; and it does not bristle with asterisks marking supposed lacunae. In his critical apparatus he gives a concise justification of his readings, makes or records suggestions with a wise restraint, and warns us where he thinks we are probably dealing with spurious passages. His preface contains a valuable account of the MSS., and there is an excellent *index uerborum* at the end of the book. With all due deference to earlier workers in the same field, this means a great advance; and if more is said here in blame than in praise of Diels' edition it is not because there is more to be said, but because in such a case the blame naturally takes up more room on the page.

As might have been expected from the author of *Theophrastea*, Diels makes a clean sweep of the Corpus Vulgare, and condemns the Munich Epitome (M) as of no independent value. It is true that some of the supposed variants of the families known as *C*, *D*, and *E* now disappear, and not many of what remain are important; but the occurrence of πέμπειν (V § 8) in the Herculanean Fragment—of which later—shows that we should not be too hasty in dismissing their evidence. With Diels' view of M we must deal at some length. This MS., with one late exception, is the only one which reads Τίβιε (*i.e.* Τίβειε) in IX, and contains the scholion upon it, Τίβιε δουλικὸν ὄνομα ὡς καὶ Δρόμων καὶ Γέτας καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα. Diels regards the reading as a

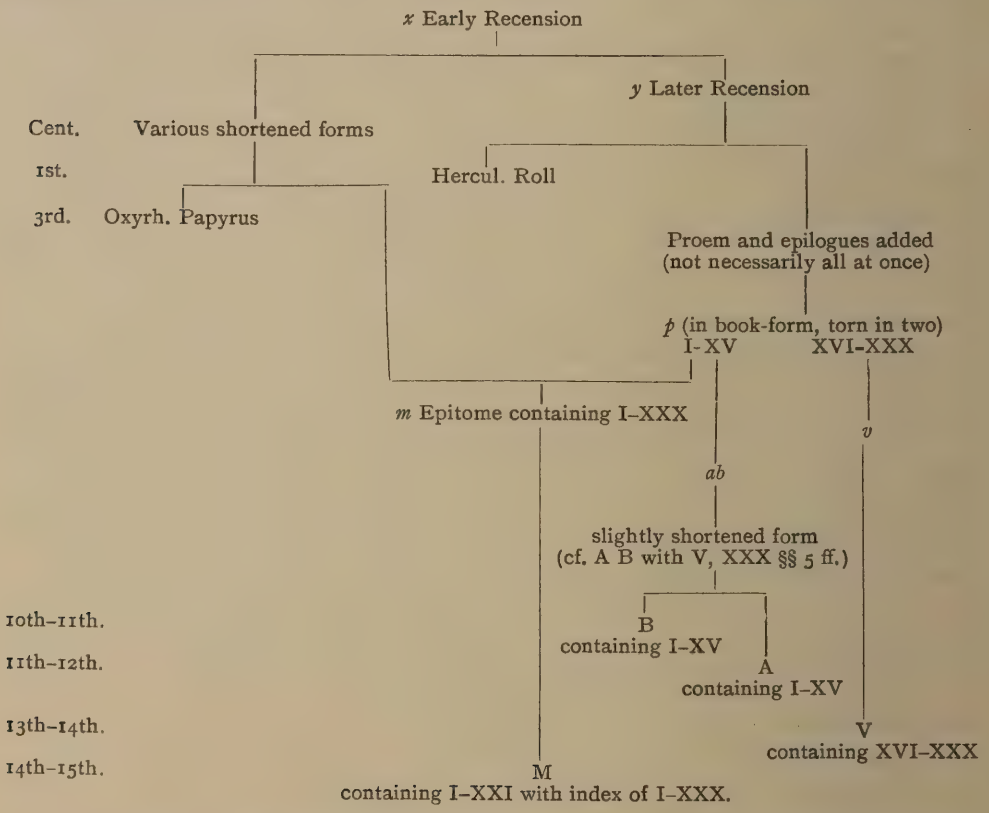
late emendation and the scholion as a note in support of it. But it is equally possible that the readings Τίβιε and *τίμιε* both existed in ancient times, and that the scholion is an ancient justification of the choice. Τίβιε occurs in one of the MSS. of group *C*, with *τίμιε* added in the margin by the same hand. Again, in the scholion on Θουριακὰς in V, B reads ϊ[. .]χΐ, which Diels interprets Ἰταλίας, and M *ταραντινικόν*. Diels declares that here we have 'certissimum indicium' that M is derived from B. Our view is that while his explanation of these two facts alone might be regarded as sound, taken with others they point the other way. And others there are.

Where an epitome is longer, and when longer often better, than the fuller MSS., there is at least a strong presumption in favour of its independence; and this is the case with M in at least a dozen passages. The epitomator who in VII and XV cut out nearly all but the definitions is hardly likely to have changed in I § 2 *καὶ τούτοις συλλυπεῖσθαι ἡττωμένοις* to *καὶ συνάχθεσθαι πάσχουσι κακῶς ἢ ἡττημένοις*, and in § 4 *ἀλλὰ φῆσαι βουλεύεσθαι* to *ἀλλὰ λέγειν ἔτι βουλένεσθαι;* to have inserted the article three times in III—*οἱ τοῦ Ὠιδείου κίονες, Πυανεψιῶνος τὰ Ἀπατούρια, Ποσειδεῶνος δὲ κατ' ἄγρους τὰ Διονύσια* ('in Poseideon the Dionysia are in the country'); to have added *ἐσθίοντα* (*i.e.* *ἐστιῶντα*[1]) in IV § 10, and *τὴν ὁδὸν καταλιπόντα* in XIII § 6; or to have added prepositions to simple verbs in four passages—*περιλαβεῖν* I § 1, *ὑποδεικνύειν* XI § 2, *ἐπιπέμψειεν* XVIII § 2, *συλλαλῆι* XX § 2. Again, the order in M both of the sentences themselves and of the words that compose them differs from the order found in A B V. The difference in word-order is perhaps no greater than would have been found in a post-Renaissance epitome derived from A B V; but the difference in the order of the sentences is more remarkable. The order of the sentences differs in eight passages—I § 5, V § 1, X § 8, XI §§ 4 and 7, XII §§ 2 and 3, XVI §§ 14 and 15, XIX §§ 2 and 3, §§ 11 and 7. Then there is the difference of vocabulary. Not only are these differences marked differences, but the words found in M generally suggest either an older tradition, as being rarer than the corresponding words in A B V, or an ancient epitomization, as being Alexandrian rather than Byzantine forms. The chief differences are: I *ἐπαινεῖν ἀναφανδόν* for *ἐπ. παρόντας*, II *ἔναγχος* for *δυοῖν ἡμερῶν*, *ἐπανακά<μ>πτειν* (cf. *ἀνακάμπτων πάλιν*, Menand. *Sam.* 341) for *ἀναστρέψας*, V *ἀρωματίζεσθαι* for *χρίσματι ἀλείφεσθαι*, VI *κέραμον* for *δεσμωτήριον*, XII *γυναικείου μέρους* for *γυν. γένους*, XIV *ὑπνώσας* for *καθεύδων*, XVI *δεδίττονται* for *ταράττεσθαι*, XVII *ἀσχάλλειν*, XVIII *ἀνιχνεύσοντα* for *τὸν πευσόμενον πόσου ἐπρίατο*, *κἀκείνης καταφασκούσης* for *καὶ ἂν ἐκείνη φῆι*, XIX *ῥυπαροῖς* for *κηλίδων μεστόν*, XX *βηματίσηι* for *περιπατήσηι*, *βρέφος* for *παιδίον*, XXI *διευθετεῖν* for *ἐκτρίβειν στεφανοῦν ἀλείφειν*, *θριάμβους αὐλαίους ποιεῖν* for *βοῦν θύσας* κ.τ.λ. Add to these the correct spelling *ὀλάς* in X, and—though alone this would be negligible—the frequent use of *ἤ* instead of *καί*. Lastly, M is remarkable for the variety of constructions employed instead of the almost uniform *οἷος*-and-infinitive

[1] See *Classical Quarterly*, 1908, pp. 119 ff.

found elsewhere. Yet, that the scholarship of the compiler of M (or of one of its more immediate predecessors) was unsound is shown by the chaotic interchange of the constructions—e.g. in IV we find first *οἷος* and infinitive with nominative subject, then the infinitive with accusative subject, and then nominative and infinitive again ; in XVI we have *ὥς τινες εἰ* with what is probably meant for the present indicative plural, and then accusative singular and infinitive ; and in XVIII *οἷον εἰ* with optative, then nominative and infinitive, and then optative again. The state of M is, in fact, just about what we should expect of a medieval epitomator who had side by side before him an ancient shortened form of the text containing only some of the traits and with various constructions, and a full form containing all the traits and with *οἷος*-and-infinitive almost invariable.

The following Stemma of the MSS. A B V and M appears to me to account for the facts :



The Early Recension (*x*) read the §§ beginning *καὶ οἰνοπωλῶν* as part of XI, retained various constructions where we now find *οἷος*-and-infinitive almost invariable, and probably added Scholia.[1] The Later Recension (*y*) reduced the various constructions to an almost uniform *οἷος*-and-infinitive—leaving, however, *αὐτὸν* for *αὐτὸς* in four places—read *καὶ οἰνοπωλῶν κ.τ.λ.* as part of XXX, changed the order of the traits in some passages, added

[1] Or the Scholia in M may be supposed to have come from *p* with the proem, etc.

ἢ φοίνικα in X § 8, retained (or added) Scholia, and gave variants. The compiler of the epitome *m* took from the first half of the divided *p* his proem, most of his epilogues, and some traits not found in the earlier shortened forms descended directly from *x*, but derived his text proper, in I–XV mainly, and in XVI–XXX entirely, from one of these shortened forms, now lost. The archetype of V was copied from the latter half of *p* when the last page (containing καὶ οἰνοπωλῶν κ.τ.λ.) was still in its place in XXX. The archetype of A and B was copied somewhat later from the first half. The latter half had by this time disappeared from the library, with the exception of the last page, and this page, when the first half (missing when *v* was copied) came to light, had been put in after XI on comparison with a copy of *m* or with the earlier shortened form from which *m* was partly derived. The absence from A B (XI) of the last §§ of all (XXX §§ 17-20) may be accounted for by supposing the back of the last page of *p* to have become illegible since the copying of *v*.

The editor of *y* seems to have tried to reduce the various constructions to a uniform οἷος-and-infinitive. So long as the subject of the chapter remained the grammatical subject he found no difficulty; but in a few passages he was unable to make the change, and here we find either indicatives or later unsuccessful attempts to overcome the anomaly. In these passages Diels scents the excerptor. Yet not only is one of them one of the best in the book (VIII §§ 5-10), but that some variety existed in the constructions of the very earliest ancient editions is surely more probable than that the present uniformity comes from the author himself. The same love of variety which is seen in the beginnings of the chapters—the use of ἐστί, δόξει εἶναι, or δόξειεν ἂν εἶναι; the variation and omission or not of the qualifying clause ὡς τύπωι λαβεῖν, ὡς ὅρωι περιλαβεῖν, εἴ τις αὐτὴν ὁρίζεσθαι βούλοιτο, οὐ χαλεπὸν δέ ἐστι τὴν . . . διορίσασθαι· ἔστι γὰρ . . ., ὡς ὅρωι εἰπεῖν, ὡς ὅρωι λαβεῖν; the changes rung on τοιοῦτός τις οἷος, τοιοῦτος οἷος, τοιοῦτός τις, τοιόσδε τις οἷος, τις οἷος—and, lower down in the chapters, in the use, surviving even in our texts, of ἀμέλει δέ and δεινός to break up the strings of infinitives and group the traits—this wish to avoid monotony may well have come out in variety of constructions in the body of each piece. Besides the οἷος-and-infinitive there seem to have been some at any rate of the following constructions: present indicative, οἷον εἴ τις with indicative or optative, οἷον ἐάν τις with subjunctive, ὥς τινες εἰ with indicative, οἷον with infinitive and τινά, οἷον τό with accusative and infinitive, ἔργα δὲ τό with accusative and infinitive. The passages where the editor of *y* left the anomalies unchanged and his probable reasons for doing so are these:

VI § 7 λέγει: the whole § would have had to be recast.

VII § 5 τοσαῦτα καὶ προσλαλεῖ (so Diels rightly: A B προσλαλεῖν): this construction would be impossible with an infinitive dependent on a distant οἷος. In order to resume his favourite construction, the ancient editor added (or preserved) δεινός in the next sentence.

VIII §§ 4 ff. Here the intervention of the two sentences beginning καὶ

ἔστιν αὐτῶι ἡ στρατιώτης made it impossible to resume the thread of the infinitive construction; for the insertion of δεινός in § 6 would wrongly have indicated a new occasion. The ancient editor therefore was obliged to leave the indicatives διηγεῖται, φησί (A B φήσει), λέγει δέ. And the more so because in § 9 comes the phrase πῶς οἴεσθε πιθανῶς, 'you can't think how plausibly'—a light-hearted phrase thoroughly characteristic of the great teacher who, as Athenaeus tells us, i. 38*a*, 'would in his discourses indulge in every gesture and attitude imaginable, and once indeed, by way of mimicking an epicure, put out his tongue and licked his lips.' This phrase, which, by the way, Diels ruthlessly mutilates, would not fit in with the ancient editor's grammatical scheme. He therefore let it remain, and with it the following λέγει. The medieval transcriber afterwards wrote πῶς οἴεσθαι πιθανῶς σχετλιάζων λέγειν. In § 10 προσδεδράμηκε remained because, as before, it was impossible to change the construction without indicating a fresh occasion.

IX § 4 εὖ ἔχει is probably an interpolation, as Kayser suggested. But if the ancient editor did find it there, he could not alter it to suit his infinitive construction.

XV § 10 ἂν ἠθέλησε may well be a corruption of ἂν ἐθελῆσαι, due to the comparative strangeness of ἄν with the οἷος-infinitive. But it may be that the ancient editor found it here, and this very strangeness caused him not to alter it; the occurrence of the necessary δεινός in the next sentence is in favour of the latter view.

Other traces of the earlier recension (*x*) probably survive in four passages where the MSS. read αὐτόν with the infinitive after οἷος, or with a dependent infinitive of oratio obliqua, and where the accusative would be perfectly correct after οἷον τό or ἔργα δὲ τό. The passages are I § 4 ὀψὲ γενέσθαι αὐτόν, 'he himself was late'; V § 8 ἀγοράζειν αὐτὸν μὲν μηδέν, 'to buy nothing himself'; XI § 7 ὀψωνεῖν αὐτόν (A B ἑαυτόν), 'to do his own marketing'; XIX § 2 ἔχειν γὰρ αὐτὸν (*C D E* om.) καὶ τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὸν πάππον, 'for he and his father and his grandfather all had them.'

The various constructions of *x* remain in M, and probably also in the Oxyrhynchus Papyrus, of which presently.

The only fact that does not appear to fit in with the above Stemma is that M and V agree in the mistake διαλάβηι for διαβάληι in XVI § 3. Such a transposition, however, is surely common enough. The mistake may well have occurred in ancient copies of *x*, before the line of tradition divided, or this may be simply a coincidence of the kind that is not really suspicious when it comes alone.

Now it may be asked, what do we gain by admitting the independence of M? A consideration of the following passages will best answer this question (M's contributions to our text are underlined):

I. § 2 M's ἐνδείκνυσθαι οὐ μισεῖν points to Hartung's ἐθέλειν λαλεῖν <ὡς> οὐ μισῶν.

In A B's *καὶ τούτοις συλλυπεῖσθαι ἡττωμένοις, τούτοις* is certainly corrupt; read *καὶ συλλυπεῖσθαι τοῖς πάσχουσι κακῶς ἢ ἡττημένοις.*

§ 4 *φῆσαι ἔτι βουλεύεσθαι.*

§ 5 M's *ἐπαγγέλ<λ>εσθαι σκέψασθαι* points to Casaubon's (from Menander) *σκέψεσθαι φάσκειν.*

IV § 10 see *Classical Quarterly* loc. cit.

§ 11 *ζητεῖν* (unless, as Professor Postgate kindly points out, Casaubon's *ἀπαιτεῖν* is here concealed, an abbreviation for *ἀπο* having been confused with *ζ*, see Cobet *Var. Lect.*, p. 275).

V § 8 see below.

VI §§ 2, 3 see *Classical Quarterly* loc. cit.

VIII § 9 read *καὶ πάντα διεξιὼν πῶς οἴεσθε πιθανῶς σχετλιάζων λέγει.* M has *καὶ πιθανῶς σχετλιάζων ἐπάγειν*, having dropped the troublesome *πῶς οἴεσθε* but kept the participle *σχετλιάζων.*

IX § 3 M's reading points to an ancient variant *κεκλημένος* ('when dining out') *τῶι ἀκολούθωι δοῦναι.* A B have *προσκαλεσάμενος τὸν ἀκόλουθον δοῦναι.* The word *κεκλημένος* is almost necessary, for the occasion is not the same as in § 2.

§ 7 *τοὺς χρήσαντας.*

X § 8 M's reading points to an ancient variant *μηδ' ἐὰν διὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἄγρου πορεύεσθαι εἰ μὴ ἐφ' ὥιτε μὴ συκοτραγῆσαί τινα*, 'nor to allow anyone to pass through his land except on condition that he will not eat the figs.' The two *μή*'s may well have caused the loss of *ἐφ' ὥιτε*, and this would lead to *μηδ' ἐὰν διὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἄγρου πορεύεσθαι μη<δὲ> συκοτραγῆσαί τινα*, which, except for inversion of the two traits, is the reading of A B.

XII § 1 *ἔντευξις*: see Cobet *Mnem.* 1874, 46.

XIII § 6 *ἀτραποῦ ἡγήσασθαι τὴν ὁδὸν καταλιπών.*

XIV § 3 *ἐκλαθόμενος*, 'forgetting all about it.'

XVI § 3 *παραδράμηι* (so *D*) V *περιδρ.* *C* varies between *περι-* and *παρα-*.

§ 10 *ταῖς ἑβδομάσι τῶν ἡμερῶν.*

XVII § 4 *τῶι Διὶ ἀγανακτεῖν οὐ διότι οὐχ ὕει, ἀλλὰ διότι ὕστερον*, 'not [in time of drought, as other people would] because he sends *no* rain, but [when the rain has come] because he has been so long about sending it.'

XVIII § 2 *ἕτερον παῖδα ἐπιπέμπειν.*

§ 4 *καὶ νυκτὸς* (giving the occasion) *τὴν γυναῖκα τὴν αὑτοῦ ἐρωτᾶν κατακείμενος.*

XX § 2 *ἵνα αὐτῶι συλλαλῆι.*

§ 4 *ἕως ἂν αὐτὸς περιπατήσηι*, or read *ἀποπατήσηι* with Sylburg, of which *βηματίσηι* may have been a slang equivalent (cf. *κέραμον* VI § 6 for *δεσμωτήριον*).

Dissatisfied with Diels' restoration of the Oxyrhynchus Fragment, I recently procured photographs of it and applied the tracing-test. The fragment

contains the end of XXV and the beginning of XXVI in an epitomized form. I now propose to read it thus :

[καὶ αἵματος]
[ἀνάπλεως, τοῖς ἐκ τῆς]
μά]χ[ης ἐντυγχάνειν
κ]αὶ λέγειν π[ῶς αὐτὸς
5 α]ὐτὸν σώσ[αι ἐπὶ σκη-
ν]ὴν.
ὀλι]γ[αρχ]ία ἐστ[ὶν φιλαρχί-
α] τις ἰσχύος κ[αὶ κέρδους
γ]λιχομένη[· ὁ δ]ὲ [ὀλίγαρ-
10 χ]ος τοιοῦτος· ἰδιά[ζεται
μὲν λέγων οὐκ [ἀγαθὸν
πο]λυκοιρανίη εἷ[ς κοίρα-
νος ἔστω ε[ἷς] βασιλέυς·
κ̣α̣ὶ̣ τοῦ δήμου χε[ιροτο-
15 νο̣ῦντος πολλοὺς [λέγει
παρελθ]ὼν ἀρκέσε[ιν ἕνα.

l. 5 *σωσαι* is rather more probable than *σωσειεν*.

l. 9 The trace of ε is certain; we must therefore read ὁ δὲ not ὁ δ', and then there is not room for *ολιγαρχι]κος*.

l. 10 *ιδια* or *ιδιαι φησι ζωμεν* is too long; here there is nothing to decide between indicative and infinitive, but in l. 15 *λέγει* is slightly more probable than *λέγειν*, and with the omission of *οἷος* the indicative is more likely in spite of *λέγειν* in l. 4.

The Herculanean Fragment of Character V, of which Diels takes no account, is discussed by Crönert in his *Kolotes und Menedemos*, Leipzig, 1906 (Wessely's *Studien zur Paläographie*, Heft VI.). Crönert gives a restoration of §§ 5-8 only, but recently Bassi has discovered that nearly the whole chapter is quoted in the roll, and has restored it with minute care (*Rivista di Filol.* July, 1909). The points to be noticed are these (additions are underlined) :

§ 2 *ἀμφοτέραις ταῖς χερσὶ λαβόμενος μὴ ἀφιέναι*: Schneider had already proposed to insert *ἐπιλαβόμενος*. Lapo's Latin version (see *Wiener Studien*, 1902), neglected by Diels, reads 'eum utraque manu comprehensum minime a se dimittit.'[1] Between *μίκρον* and *προπέμψας* there is a space of three or four letters : I propose *ἅμα προπέμψας*, 'and having accompanied him a little way and at the same time asked him. . . .'

§ 3 *ἵνα κοινός τις εἶναι δοκῇι* : so already Pauw by conjecture ; A B *κοινὸς εἶς εἶναι*.

§ 5 *εἰσελθόντα* : A B *εἰσιόντα* : the Aorist is certainly better. *καθεύδειν θλιβόμενος* (so M) without *ἅμα*.

[1] Another notable reading is in I § 2, where Lapo's MS. apparently had *καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς καθ' ἑαυτοῦ λεγομένοις μὴ χαλεπῶς φέρειν*, 'quaeque aduersum se dicantur, haud grauiter ferat.'

§ 6 *πλείστου*, 'most expensively,' for *πλειστάκις*.

§ 7 *προσέρχεσθαι* for *προσφοιτᾶν*, and *οἱ ἔφηβοι*.

§ 8 *ἀγοράζειν αὐτὸν μὲν* is confirmed, though *αὐτὸς* is also possible. Here the Papyrus is much mutilated. We have a choice, it appears, between—

(1) *ξέ[νοις δ' εἰς Βυζάντιον ἄλα* (or *ἅλας* ?) *καὶ]*
Λακω[νικὰς κυνὰς εἰς Κύζι-
κο]ν [πέμ]π[ειν καὶ μέλι Ὑμήτ-
τιο]ν [εἰς Ῥόδον,
and (2) *ξέ[νοις δὲ περιὼν* (?) *συνεργεῖν*
Λακω[νικὰς κ.τ.λ.

(1) There is not room for both *ἐπιστάλματα* and *Βυζάντιον*, and *ἐπιστάλματα* does not occur elsewhere. In our MSS. ΑΛΑΚΑΙ may well have fallen out before ΛΑΚΩΝΙΚΑC, and if *Βυζάντιον* is right some special commodity is required rather than a general term like *ἐπιστάλματα*. (2) Cf. M.: *περιὼν* would be for *περιιὼν*. *πέμπειν* depends on *συνεργεῖν*. On the whole I prefer (2). Now that we know that *ἀγοράζειν αὐτὸς* (or *αὐτὸν*) *μὲν* and not *ἀγ. αὐτὸς μὲν αὐτῶι* was the ancient reading, the dative *ξένοις* wants a construction; for it is sufficiently obvious that the *ξένοι* are present on the occasion and are not the ultimate recipients of the exported goods. It is perhaps also suspicious that *ἅλα* or *ἐπιστάλματα*, or whatever was there, should come *after* *Βυζάντιον*, while *κυνάς* and *μέλι* come *before* *Κύζικον* and *Ῥόδον* respectively.

§ 9 *αὐλαίαν Πέρσας ἐνυφασμένην* (so already Cobet by conjecture) for *αὐλ. ἔχουσαν Π. ἐνυφασμένους*. *παλαιστρίδιον* for *αὐλίδιον παλαιστριαῖον*.

§ 10 *χρωννύναι* gives us the ω-form seen in the *χρωννύειν* of A B in X § 13, which editors had altered to *χρηννύειν*. A B here have *χρὴ νῦν ἀεὶ*, whence editors read *χρηννύναι*. Before *τοῖς σοφισταῖς* the words *τοῖς φιλοσόφοις* are omitted; probably they are a gloss in our MSS. *ἐνεπιδείκνυσθαι*: so already Cobet by conjecture. Where Bassi leaves the Papyrus unrestored I suggest either—

(1) *[ὕ]στ[ερον] ἐπει[σιέναι ἤδη*
σ̣υ̣[γ]καθη[μέ]ν̣[ων ἵ]ν' ἐ[ἴπηι
τις] τῶν θεωμένων, ὅτι τού-
του ἐστὶν ἡ παλαίστρα.
or (2) *ὕστερον ἐπεισιέναι ἐπὰν*
σ̣υ̣[γ]καθῷ̣[ντα]ι̣, [ὡς ἃ]ν̣ ἑ̣[τέρωι εἴ-
πηι] τῶν θεωμένων κ.τ.λ.

καθῳ is more likely than *καθῃ*, but the letter is very obscure. With *συγκαθημένων* in (1) cf. *συναγόντων* XXX § 18. The latter version supposes that *ἕτερος* had already fallen out before *ἑτέρωι*, thus causing the confusion seen in A B's *ἔπεισιν* (*sic*) *ἐπὶ τῶν θεωμένων πρὸς τὸν ἕτερον, ὅτι κ.τ.λ.*, where *ἐπὶ* may have arisen from a correction of *ἀποδείξεσιν* or a misreading of *ἐπὰν*. For *ὡς ἂν=ὅπως* cf. Ar. *Av.* 1508. On the whole I prefer (1).

Diels' text or apparatus calls for comment in the following passages:

II § 4 Reiske's *εἰ παύσαιτο*, 'if he stops,' is ungrammatical.

§ 7 Wachsmuth's *ἐπικρηπῖδες* are too doubtful to be in the text; besides there is no point in 'goloshes' here. Why not 'going to the shoe-market with him and buying shoes'? Cf. X § 2 *ἀπαιτεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκίαν*, XI § 8 *προσστὰς πρὸς κουρεῖον*, and Thuc. II. 34. 2 *γυναῖκες πάρεισιν . . . ἐπὶ τὸν τάφον ὀλοφυρόμεναι*.

IV § 12 Roscher's *ταῶν* for *ἀγών*, *Philologus* 57, deserved mention.

§ 13 Surely genuine, though perhaps out of its place; read *ᾄσαι*.

V § 5 *ἀσκὸς*, *πέλεκυς*: we miss a reference to Koujeas, *Hermes*, 1906.

VI § 9 *ἀλλαντοπωλῶν* surely involves the rejection of *ἀγοραίων*.

VII § 7 In the apparatus, *for τῆς* A B *read τὰς* A B.

§ 10 *τατᾶ* occurs twice in Herondas, 3.79, 5.69, but the verb *τᾱταλίζω* (id. 1.60, 6.77) points to a bye-form *τᾶτα*, perhaps the original of *ταῦτα* here.

VIII § 1 The MS. reading making good sense, <*πιστεύεσθαι*> should not be in the text.

§ 2 *ὡς* <*τάχος*> *ἐπιβαλών* unnecessary; 'as though making a hostile attack upon him.'

§ 7 Hanow's *φησί* should be in the text.

XIV § 11 No MS. has *αὐτός*, see Landi, *Stud. Ital.*, 8 p. 91.

XV § 6 *ῥυπώσαντι* occurs in no MS., see Landi again; and did 'crepidines uiarum' exist in fourth-century Athens?

XVII § 2 Keep *ἐφθόνησας* with Jebb. The servant is identified with the master.

XXI § 3 The order is against Foss's *ἀποκεῖραι ἀγαγεῖν*.

XXII § 3 *σιωπᾶν ἤ* makes good sense. He gets up with others as though to offer something and then after all remains silent or goes away altogether.

XXIII § 2 *πεμπάζων* would involve an intolerable jingle; *κελεῦσαι καλέσαι* in V § 5, on the other hand, was too common to be unpleasant.

§ 3 Cichorius' *καὶ ὅπως αὐτῶι εἶχε* hardly deserves recording; cf. Xen. *Mem.* i. 38 *οἷα μὲν οὖν ἡ συνουσία ἐγεγόνει Κριτίαι πρὸς Σωκράτην καὶ ὡς εἶχον πρὸς ἀλλήλους, εἴρηται*.

§ 5 Keep *πλείους* and read *ταλάντων* as objective genitive used predicatively after *τὰ ἀναλώματα*.

§ 6 *καὶ δέκα τάλαντα*: hardly 'uel decem talenta' here. Better *ὡς δέκα τάλαντα*, 'upwards of ten talents.' For confusion of *καί* and *ὡς* see Diels on XXVI § 1.

XXIV § 4 *ἐν*<*τάχει*> should not be in the text.

§ 9 Blaydes' *τῶν ὑφ' αὑτῶι* is an obvious correction deserving incorporation.

XXVI § 6 The insertion of *τὸν δῆμον—τοὺς πολλοὺς* will hardly commend itself. The passage is already over-long for one of several typical remarks of the Oligarch. We are probably dealing with a gloss explaining how Theseus was the prime cause of Athens' misfortunes, the gloss originally running *ἐκ*

δώδεκα πόλεων εἰς μίαν καταγαγόντα λυθείσας βασιλείας, 'having reduced the overthrown kingdoms from twelve cities to one (kingdom),' i.e. 'having made one state out of twelve overthrown kingdoms.' (The omission of *τάς* is suspicious, while *τοῦτον γὰρ* may be easily explained as having been added after the gloss became part of the text.) *αὐτῶν* in l. 31 would then refer to *δημαγωγῶν* above.

XXVIII § 3 *ἀνδρόλαλοι* is sound; the anticlimax is intended to show the distortion of the man's sense of proportion in judging misdemeanours.

§ 6 Herwerden's <*αὐτοῦ*> is unnecessary; it is quite clear that this is a new trait. On the other hand, his *τετελευτηκότων*, <*τὸ*> *κακῶς λέγειν ἀποκαλῶν παρρησίαν* surely deserved mention; for with *κακὰ εἰπεῖν* cut out and the comma placed *after κακῶς λέγειν*, *ἀποκαλῶν* is left without a direct object.

XXIX § 4 Why is *ἀγνοεῖν* condemned as corrupt? *τοὺς ἀνθρώπους* may be easily supplied.

§ 5 *ἐπὶ δικαστηρίου* should be in the text, cf. Dem. 58. 40, Hyperides 3. 21, Isaeus 5. 1, 19, 25, 29.

Unger's *νῦν δεῖ τὸν ἄνδρα ἀλλὰ* <*μὴ*> *τὸ πρᾶγμα κρίνεσθαι* hardly deserved mention. The text is surely right, 'the question is, not who the man is, but what [in the present case] he has done.'

XXX § 7 In the apparatus, *for ἀπὸ τῶν ξενίων* A B *read ἀπὸ τῶν ξενίων* recc.

§ 14 Why bracket *τὸν μῆνα ὅλον*? The words, as Holland saw, go closely with *μή*, 'only a part of the month.'

Unger's *διά τιν' ἀρρωστίαν* deserved mention.

In preparing the long-desired second edition of Jebb's *Theophrastus*, Dr. Sandys has had a difficult task. To make it what Jebb himself would have made it, as thorough and complete an edition as his *Sophocles*, would have involved more alteration than a literary executor would be justified in admitting; and yet there were many passages where, quite apart from the question of changing the character of the book, one could say with certainty, 'Jebb would have altered this.' The result of the editor's labours was bound to be unsatisfactory, but the only alternative, a reprint of the first edition after the lapse of forty years, would have been at least equally so. In the circumstances Dr. Sandys has done exceedingly well. He has, with but few exceptions, brought the whole book up to date, and yet left in it all that was best of the first edition.

A few inaccuracies remain in the translation (I give Jebb's numbering):

V l. 19 'he has been considering the question' calls for the MSS. reading *σκέψασθαι*, not Casaubon's *σκέψεσθαι*.

VI l. 17 *for* 'no person whatever' *read* 'nobody' (*μηδ' ὑφ' ἑνός*).

XI l. 5 *for* 'sailing' *read* 'starting on a journey' (*ἀνάγεσθαι*).

XVIII l. 11 *for* 'work his land' *read* 'do some farming (*ἀγρὸν γεωργήσει*).

XIX l. 10 *omit* 'you' (*πάλαι σε παρετήρουν, εἰ ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ἐμοὶ κατενεχθήσει*).

XX l. 24 *omit* 'just' (*ἤδη πέμπτην ἡμέραν ἥκοντα ἐκ Μακεδονίας*).

XXV l. 23 *for* 'the girl who is to attend her' *read* 'a girl to attend her' (*παιδίον τὸ συνακολουθῆσον*). This idiom seems to have escaped Jebb. It occurs also in XXIII l. 3, where he cuts out the MSS. *τὸν* before *πευσόμενον* without comment.

XXVI l. 17 *for* 'and to cry' *read* 'crying' (*ἀπαιτῆσαι τὸ μέρος, κοινὸν εἶναι φήσας τὸν Ἑρμῆν*).

The arrangement of our text may or may not be the author's. But, as the Papyrus fragments show, it is at any rate very old. Few editors would now agree with Jebb's rearrangement of certain chapters—the transposition of the latter half of *ἀρέσκεια* to *μικροφιλοτιμία*, the inversion in VII of the two §§ beginning *καὶ βοῦν θύσας* and *καὶ κολοιῶι δέ*, and the transposition of *καὶ εἰς ὀρνιθοσκόπου κ.τ.λ.* from *δυσχέρεια* to *βδελυρία*. These and minor changes, as at the end of XIV, should have been indicated in the Critical Notes, and some mention made of the new evidence there is against them. A few passages in the text call for comment:

V ll. 11, 19 *αὐτὸν* and *ἑαυτὸν* are surely impossible. Jebb himself in his critical note on XII 4 says, 'Petersen, keeping *αὐτόν*, makes the strange mistake of translating it as if it were *αὐτός*.' The rough breathing here does not improve matters.

XIX l. 30 *λαλεῖν*, as other editors have seen, is baby-language.

XXIII l. 12 Keep *δύναιντο*: the optative denotes the remoteness of the possibility, 'that they may not have the least chance of repudiating the debt.'

It would have been well if Dr. Sandys could have seen his way to making a few more 'Atticizing' alterations in the spelling. He gives us *ἐλάαν* in XXIV l. 13 (*ἐλᾶαν* is a misprint in the Critical Note), but keeps *λουόμενον* (IV l. 14), *ἑωρακέναι* (V l. 15), *λειτουργίας* (VI l. 24), *σήμερον* (XIV l. 23), *γραμματιδίων* (XVI l. 21), *οὐλὰς* (XXIV l. 19), *σαλπιστοῦ* (XXVII l. 21), and reads *ἐνθυμῆι* in I but *ἐνθυμεῖ* in XX. In XXV l. 19 read *συνακολουθῆσον* and in XXIX l. 22 *παρακαθῆταί*.

In the Critical Notes it is often not clear what the MSS. read. In I l. 29 *ἔτι* (so B: *ἔτι* A) *περιστείλῃ αὐτόν* makes the reading of *L.* and Diels certain. In XXVII ll. 16 ff. Jebb's reading is Coray's emendation, and *L.* follow the MSS. In XXVIII l. 17 Jebb's inversion of *παρελθεῖν οὕτω* has no MS. authority. The following passages also call for comment:

III l. 7 ff. *ῥυπώσαντι* occurs in no MS., see above.

VII ll. 30-32 *to* inserted before l. 25 in V *add* the only MS. in which the sentence occurs.

XII l. 7 *read* the vulgate has simply *χρῆσθαι* or *χρᾶσθαι* (one of the best MSS., however, *χρίεσθαι*) *and omit below* 'One of the —— Coray's.'

XV l. 6 *ἄρας κρέας καὶ ἄρτον* is the reading of B.

XX ll. 4-6 *for καὶ ἔχειν in third line read καὶ ἔχεις.*

XXI l. 14 *οὐ γὰρ οὖν* is substituted for *οὐ γὰρ οἷον* without comment.

l. 16 It should be mentioned that *ὑπακούειν θύραν* occurs also at XIV l. 15 in the best MSS.

XXII l. 5 *οὐχ ὕει* occurs in M.

l. 15 The best argument for *ὅτε* is Ar. *Nub.* 716.

XXIV l. 13 B's *χαμαὶ πεπτωκότων* should be noted.

XXVI ll. 20-22. In l. 4 of note *for πολεῖσθαι read πωλεῖσθαι.*

XXVIII l. 14 In the quotation from Pollux *for ἐκλύσασθαι read ἀπολύσασθαι,* and in note on l. 22 following omit comma after *θεούς.*

XXIX l. 16 ff. For the true reading of V see Diels.

Slight inconsistency is to be observed in the use of < > marking insertions, e.g. in XXIX ll. 13 and 17 they are employed, but not in l. 21; and in the use of . . . marking omissions, e.g. in XII. l. 6 they are found, but not in the great majority of cases. The latter sign is used to denote aposiopesis in XX l. 24.

The otherwise excellent Bibliography is unfortunately incomplete. The following should be added to the list:

1898 D. Bassi, *Rivista di Filologia,* on four Ambrosian MSS.
N. Festa, *Studi Italiani di Filol. Class.,* on XII.
W. Roscher, *Philologus,* on IV § 12.
F. Rühl, *Rhein. Museum,* on the 'Abfassungszeit.'
1900 C. Landi, *Studi Ital.,* on the Florentine MSS.
1902 K. Müllner, *Wiener Studien,* on an early fifteenth-century Latin translation.
U. von Wilamowitz Moellendorff, *Hermes,* on XXX § 11.
1904 P. Stengel, *Hermes,* on XXII.
1906 W. Crönert, *Studien zur Paläographie* VI, on part of the Herculanean Fragment.
S. Koujeas, *Hermes,* on *Ἀσκὸς, πέλεκυς.*
1909 (published since the book came out) D. Bassi, *Rivista di Filol.,* on the Herculanean Fragment.

It should also be noted that Wendland had been anticipated by Cohn, *Philologus,* 1890, that the same article of Wendland's calls attention to a MS., Barberinus I 76, omitted by Immisch, and that Wilamowitz-Moellendorff's *Lesebuch* includes, besides the Characters mentioned by Dr. Sandys, *ἀδολεσχία, μεμψιμοιρία,* and *ἀλαζονεία.*

Lastly, it is a pity the shape of the book has been altered to conform more closely with the *Sophocles.* Jebb intended the first edition at least as much for the English reader as for the scholar—witness, among other things, the translated quotations in the commentary, the somewhat squeamish 'cuts' in

the text, and the position, and to some extent the character, of the critical notes. The change from quarto to octavo is misleading.

My thanks are due to Dr. Crönert for directing my attention to the Herculanean Fragment and answering several queries about it, to Signor Domenico Bassi for sending me a copy of his paper in the *Rivista di Filologia*, to M. Henri Omont for confirming two readings of A and B, and to Professor Smyly for furnishing me with photographs of the Oxyrhynchus Fragment.

J. M. Edmonds.

SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS.

GENERAL.

Rivista di Filologia e d'Istruzione Classica. Vol. 37. No. 1. 1909.

On some Passages of the Metamorphoses of Ovid imitated by the early Christian Writers, Carlo Pascal. Reproduction of Ovid's subject-matter in Orientius, Examples of Claudius Marius Victor, Cyprian, Dracontius, and others. *Archaism in the* Octavius *of Minucius Felix*, Lorenzo Dalmasso. Considerations are advanced for the presence of archaisms in Minucius, who is placed approximately in the latter half of the second century A.D.; and the archaisms are considered in detail under the heads of grammar, style, and vocabulary. *On the Delimitation of a Fragment of the* Euhemerus of *Ennius*, Giorgio Pasquali. In the citation by Lactantius, *Div. Inst.* I. 13, the words 'haec ut scripta—traditum est,' assigned by Vahlen and others to Ennius, belong to Lactantius. The *clausulae* of the Ennian quotation are analysed. *Qua fide quibusque fontibus instructus moralem Epicuri philosophiam interpretatus sit Cicero in primo* de Finibus *libro*, Ettore Bignone. Cicero's errors are explicable by the hypothesis that he did not consult Epicurus's works himself nor the treatises of the later Epicureans, but used the notes of lectures of Phaedrus and Zeno which he had taken at Athens. *δεύτεραι φροντίδες*, Domenico Bassi. Corrections in his paper in vol. 25, Domenico Bassi. Reviews. Obituary Notices: Giovanni Cerca, Gabriele Grasso, and Placido Cesareo (professors of the University of Messina, who perished in the earthquake of December 28), the Editor. Summaries of Periodicals, Domenico Bassi.

No. 2.

Note on Hippocrates *περὶ ἀρχαίης ἰητρικῆς*, c. 20, Achille Cosattini. The passage, with its mention of painting, is a hostile reference to Empedocles' theory of the four elements. *On the Chronology of the Love Poems of Ovid*, Remigio Sabbadini. Ovid wrote first the *Amores* (published in five books) and *Heroides* from 19 B.C. onwards. During this period he worked at the *Medea*, which he calls a *labor aeternus*. The second period (didactic erotics) begins with 1 B.C.: I. II. of the *Ars Am.*, *Medicamina Fac.* and (1 A.D.) the *Remedia;* next III. of the *Ars.* He then finally gave up erotic poetry with the reduction of the *Amores* to (the present) three books. In *A. A.* III. 343 'deue tribus libris' is an improbable interpretation of the later MSS. Paris 7311 (R.) has 'deie cerem libris.' S. suggests 'deinceps ex l.' *Philoktetes-Hephaistos*, Raffaele Pettazzoni. P. maintains (1) that Phil. Heph. are different expressions of the same divinity, (2) that the name Philoctetes, 'lover of possessions,' throws light on this divinity's character. *ἄντυξ and καταΐτυξ in Homer*, Francesco Ribezzo. *ἄν-τυξ* (from *ἀντυκ-ς*, *γ* in *ἄντυγος*, etc., being due to the influence of *ὄρτυγ-*, *πτέρυγ-*) and *καταΐ-τυξ* are compounds from $\sqrt{}^{t}$ *tuk*, weak form of tuak, Skr. *tvác* and *tvacam*, 'skin, hide,' *tvaktram*, 'armour,' Gk. *σάκος* (*φερε-σσακής*). *Horace*, Ep. II. 1. 141, Pietro Rasi. *Horatian Notes*, Romano Sciava. *Carm.* II. 6. 1-4, defends the explanation of Cruquius '[Septimi] qui mecum iturus es Gades; nempe cum Augusto qui anno

U.C. 728 bellum Hispanis intulit quo secuturi eum erant Septimius et Horatius.' *A.P.* 172. *Spe longus* means 'absorbed in a distant future,' 'quod multa animo constituat, nepotes pronepotesque meditetur, nec sentiat vicinam mortem' Jan. Parrhasius. *Critical and Exegetical Notes on the Characters of Theophrastus*, Fedele Bersanetti; chiefly on points arising out of Romizi's ed. 1899. *Parallels between the newly-discovered Hypsipyle Euripides and his other Tragedies*, Angelo Taccone. Reviews. Summaries of Periodicals. Obituary Notices: Gabriele Grass, with bibliography (66 items), by Carlo Errera; Placido Cesareo, by Concetto Marchesi; Antonio Cima, by the Editor.

No. 3.

The Stichometry in the Herculaneum Papyri, Domenico Bassi. *Latin and Greek Etymologies*, Oreste Nazari. ἔρανος, with prothetic vowel, is connected with Skt. *vánˊ* as 'pleasure,' etc. This change of meaning supports the old derivation of χάρμη ('battle') from χαίρω. *Laedo* and λίθος are congeners like *seco* and *saxum*. *Scio* was rightly joined by Darbishire with ἔ-σχ-ον ($\sqrt{}^{t}$ *segh*); cf. Cic. *Murena* 22 'ille *tenet* et *scit*,' etc., and elsewhere. Lat. *seruare*, Umbr. seritu = seruato, *sērius*, are connected with ὁράω. φρουρά, etc., show the *h* is not hysterogen. *On the date of the birth of Philip V.*, Giuseppe Corradi. 238 is too early, 237 is more probable. ἐπίμετρον (to *R. d. F.*, July, 1908), Carlo Pascal. On phrases like *nummi nummorum* (Petron. 37). *A Passage of Plutarch* de latenter uiuendo (c. vii. 1130 C.), the same. On a 'third way' to the lower regions. *The Rhythm of a Fragment of Assinius Pollio* (*ap. Sen.* Suas VI. 24), Massimo Lenchantin de Gubernatis. *The most ancient text of the* ἀρεσκεία *of Theophrastus in a Herculaneum papyrus*, D. Bassi. Transcript with comments. Reviews. Summaries of Periodicals.

No. 4.

The Stichometry in the Herculaneum Papyri (continued), D. Bassi. *The Battle of Andros*, Vincenzo Costanzi. Discusses the question which Antigonus it was whose fleet fought at Andros (Trogus *Prol.* xxvii., Plutarch *Pelop.* 2). *De Catulli carmine* lxvii., Jacobus Giri. Discussion of the subject-matter and text. *The Synchronism of the Battles of Himera and Thermopylae according to Timaeus*, Umberto Mancuso. The statements of Herodotus and Timaeus (Diodorus) are examined. Himera should be put between Salamis and Plataea, nearer to the latter and perhaps in the same year. *On the Epitaph in* ps. Verg. Catalept. xv., Gaetano Curcio. For the corrupt *Callide* at the beginning of v. 9 *Pollio* is proposed. Reviews. Obituary Notice: Antonio Cima, by Luigi Valmaggi. Summaries of Periodicals.

Wochenschrift für Klassische Philologie. 1910.

3 Jan. W. H. Roscher, *Die Zahl* 40 *im Glauben, Brauch und Schrifttum der Semiten* and *Die Tessarakontaden und Tessarakontadenlehren der Griechen und anderer Völker* (Pagel), very favourable. Euripides, *Hypsipyle*, deutsch bearb. von C. Wessely (K. F. W. Schmidt), favourable. S. O. Dickerman, *De argumentis quibusdam apud Xenophontem, Platonem, Aristotelem obviis e structura hominis et animalium petitis* (W. Nestle), very favourable. D. Detlefsen, *Die Geographie Afrikas bei Plinius und Mela und ihre Quellen* (J. Partsch), favourable. H. H. Pflüger, *Nexum und Mancipium* (B. Kübler). 'Draws new conclusions from old premisses.'

10 Jan. R. Meringer, W. Meyer-Lübke, J. J. Mikkola, R. Much, R. Murko, *Wörter und Sachen*. I, 2 (E. Zupitza). A. Gruhn, *Der Schauplatz der Ilias und Odyssee*. I. *Die Lage der Stadt Troja* (C. Rothe), rather unfavourable. D. G. Hogarth, *Ionia and the East* (P. Goessler). 'Original, thorough and stimulating.' G. Némethy, *De sexta Virgilii ecloga* (Novus Zoilus), unfavourable. F. Gaffiot, *Pour le vrai Latin*.

I. (H. Blase), favourable. Th. Meyer, *Theodorus Priscianus und die römische Medizin* (Pagel). 'A very meritorious contribution.' K. Burkhard, *Johannes von Damaskus' Auszüge aus Nemesius* (J. Dräseke), favourable.

17 Jan. R. v. Pöhlmann, *Grundriss der griechischen Geschichte.* 4 Aufl. (Schneider), very favourable. H. L. Strack, *Vollständiges Wörterbuch zu Xenophons Anabasis.* 10 Aufl. (W. Gemoll), favourable. E. Krause, *Diogenes von Apollonia.* II. (G. Lehnert), favourable. H. Stracke, *De Arii Didymi in morali philosophia auctoribus* (A. Döring), favourable. Chr. Ebert, *Über die Entstehung von Cäsars Bellum Gallicum* (E. Wolff). 'Shows much acumen and sound judgment.' M. Schanz, *Geschichte der römischen Litteratur.* I. 2. *Vom Ausgang der Bundesgenossenkriegs bis zum Ende der Republik.* 3 Aufl. (Fr. Harder), very favourable. A. v. Domaszewski, *Geschichte der römischen Kaiser.* I. II. (G. Andresen), very favourable.

NUMISMATIC.

Revue Numismatique. Parts 3 and 4. 1908.

(Part 3.) R. Jameson, *Une Trouvaille de statères de Mélos.* Eight extremely interesting silver staters found in the island of Melos. Each coin bears a pomegranate (the distinctive Melian coin-type) on the obverse, but the reverses present a remarkable number of types. It may be (as Mr. George Macdonald has suggested to me) that these reverse 'types' are really magistrates' symbols, as, *e.g.*, at Abdera. E. Cavaignac, *Les Monnaies d'Eleusis.* A full descriptive list of the coins, arranged in five series, with some discussion as to the date of issue. The figure on the obverse is usually—and no doubt correctly—called Triptolemus, but in some cases, according to Cavaignac, it is female (Demeter). A. Dieudonné, *Monnaies de Thrace.* Specimens recently acquired by the Paris Cabinet des Médailles. Two admirable figures of a standing Apollo may be noted on coins of Plotinopolis of the time of Faustina. A. Dieudonné, *Trouvaille de Monnaies de Juba II. à El Ksar (Maroc).* This find of coins of Juba II., King of Mauretania, was made recently, and is believed to have consisted of 4,000 pieces. The specimens here described are now in the Cabinet des Médailles, Paris; others have been acquired for the British Museum. It is unfortunate that this great hoard should have been broken up before it was critically examined and described. Among the types represented may be noted the altar, with the legend LVCVS AVGVSTI; a temple AVGVSTI, with balustrade; heads of Juba's wife, Cleopatra Selene, daughter of Antony and Cleopatra. Some types are Egyptian (cow and head-dress of Isis). Coins with the head of *Rex Ptolemaius regis Iubae F(ilius)* also occur in the hoard. *Reviews:* Babelon notices B. V. Head's account of early electrum coins (not later than 560 B.C.) found at Ephesus during Hogarth's excavations. He rejects Head's view that these coins were struck at Sardes, and would assign them to Ephesus and other Ionian towns. Electrum coinage owes its origin, not to the Lydians, but to the Ionians. Cavaignac's *Études sur l'Histoire d'Athènes au V^e Siècle*, and P. Gardner's *Gold Coinage of Asia* (a paper reprinted from the Proceedings of the British Academy), both by E. Babelon; Warwick Wroth's *Imperial Byzantine Coins* (2 vols.), by A. Blanchet.—(Part 4.) R. Dussaud, *L'Ère d'Alexandre le Grand en Phénicie.* The writer's conclusions are that Aradus, Sidon, and Ace employed an era of Alexander the Great—namely 336 B.C.—and the Alexandrine coins at these cities are dated according to this era. Tyre employed a different reckoning, and its didrachms (owl and hippocamp types) are dated from the first autonomous era of Tyre—viz. 275 B.C. Among other articles in this part is a description in the 'Miscellanea' of Roman coin-dies found at Soissons, and a review by Dieudonné of Maurice's *Numismatique constantinienne.*

Revue belge de numismatique. Part 3: 1909.

F. Imhoof-Blumer, *Apropos de quelques Monnaies grecques inédites ou mal décrites.* A silver coin of '*Pale*' in Cephalenia belongs, according to the inscription, to Cranium. *Cyzicus.* A coin of Macrinus, in the writer's collection, has a representation of the Farnese bull group—Amphion and Zethos with the bull and Dirke. This subject was previously only known on coins issued in Lydia at Akrasus and Thyatira. *Mytilene.* On the coins with the name of Sextus and Andromeda. *Sardis.* A coin of Gordian III., with Pelops and Hippodameia in chariot and Eros. The names of the two first are inscribed: ΠΕΛΟΨ was formerly misread ΝΕΩ. *Aspendus.* On the epithet σεμνὸς or σεμνὴ on coins. *Amblada in Pisidia.* A coin of Geta with his bust, and on the reverse a full-length figure of him inscribed NEOC APHC.

Mémoires et Notes de Numismatique. By Adrien Blanchet. Paris (Leroux), 1909. Pp. 454.

Under this title M. Blanchet has reprinted in a handsome and convenient form many of his interesting notes and articles contributed to numismatic and archaeological periodicals. The subjects treated are very varied, many of them relating to mediaeval numismatics. The classical student will be interested in the papers that deal with Celtic, Gaulish, and Roman numismatics, and in some on Greek coins, including one on the representation of statues found on the staters of Corinth, and another on the influence of Sicily upon the coinage of Massilia.

Numismatic Chronicle. Part 1. 1909.

E. J. Seltman, *Lacedaemon versus Allaria.* This 'action' respecting the place of origin of the tetradrachms inscribed ΛΑ comes into court a little late, for it may be said to have been decided by numismatists some time ago in favour of Lacedaemon. One important piece of evidence, of which tidings do not appear to have reached Mr. Seltman, is the discovery by Mr. Wace of a number of these coins at Sparta itself (a description of these has since been published by Wace in the *Annual of the British School at Athens*, No. XIV., 1907-8). A suggestion, worthy of consideration, is made that the remarkable portrait-head seen on the British Museum tetradrachm of Nabis, tyrant of Sparta, may be intended to represent him in the character of Herakles. R. Mowat, *The Countermarks of Claudius I.* G. Macdonald, *Roman Contorniates in the Hunterian Collection.* A catalogue (pp. 19-55) with careful descriptions of eighty-five specimens and three plates of illustrations. The scarce contorniate, with the head of Apollonius of Tyana, is among those photographed.

Nomisma. (Berlin: Mayer and Müller.) Part 3. 1909.

This number is devoted to a welcome study by Dr. Von Fritze of the autonomous coins of Abdera, chiefly from the chronological point of view.

Numismatische Zeitschrift. New Series. Vol. II. 1909.

To this volume Kubitschek contributes five or six valuable papers, among which may be mentioned 'Coins of Aigeai in Cilicia' and 'Coins of Pella in Dekapolis' (cp. the note by Regling, p. 17). M. Bahrfeldt writes on the latest copper issues of the Roman Republic; R. Mowat on the Aequitas type in connection with the mints of the Imperial coinage; and O. Voetter on Constantine Junior as Augustus.

WARWICK WROTH.

THE CLASSICAL QUARTERLY

JULY 1910.

THE *CARMEN SAECVLARE* OF HORACE AND ITS PERFORMANCE, JUNE 3 B.C. 17.

The central idea of this paper (read to the Oxford Philological Society on May 13) was communicated by me in March to a friend then in Rome (Prof. Stewart), with a request that he would visit the sites mentioned in it with Horace's *Carmen* in his hand. My letter, which he showed to Mr. Ashby, Mr. Stuart Jones, and others at the British School, seems to have roused fresh interest in a suggestion already made (if I am rightly informed) that the site of the Apollo temple of Augustus was not where I have assumed it to be, following Hülsen, but where the temple of Jupiter Victor is generally believed to have stood, overlooking the Forum Boarium and the Circus Maximus. Mr. Stuart Jones has kindly explained this site to me with the map, and pointed out that it suits my interpretation of the singing of the *Carmen* better than the other; and so far as I can follow the arguments there seems to me to be strong evidence for it. In fact it seems to have been assumed at the British School from the views expressed in my letter that I had arrived at the conclusion that the temple and its area were in this position and not that postulated by Hülsen. As the question cannot be further discussed on the spot for some time, I think it as well to publish the paper as I wrote it, in order that archaeologists may see for themselves how far it has any bearing on the problem.

W. W. F.

THE great object of Augustus in celebrating Ludi saeculares in 17 B.C. was to encourage the belief in himself and the consequent active loyalty to himself, as the restorer of the *pax deorum*,—the good relation between the divine and human inhabitants of Rome. So far he had tried to attain this end by the ancient usual and proper means, i.e. by carrying out the various regulations of the *ius diuinum*, so many of which had long been neglected. But in that year he determined to undertake a special celebration, with the design of more effectually stamping the impression already made on the minds of the people; and it so happens that we have more detailed knowledge of this celebration than of any other Roman rite of any period. This is fortunate, for it stands on the margin between an old and a new régime, like the *Aeneid* of Virgil, who

had died two years earlier: that great religious poem was just becoming known, and there is an allusion to it in the hymn of which I am going to speak.[1] The Ludi were the outward or ritualistic expression of the idea immortalized by the poet, that a regeneration is at hand of Rome and Italy, in religion, morals, agriculture, government: old things are now to be put away,[2] a new and glorious era is to open. Henceforward the Roman was to look ahead of him in hope and confidence, trusting in Augustus, the Aeneas of the actual State.

Thus the study of the ritual of this festival is in every way most instructive, and everyone can study it for himself in the several sources from which our information is derived: in the account given by Zosimus,[3] in the Sibylline oracle which he has fortunately preserved, in the hymn sung on the last day of the Ludi, and in the inscribed *Acta* of which a great part was discovered in 1890 by the Tiber bank near the Ponte St. Angelo.[4] Soon after the publication of this latest source, it was discussed from three several points of view at one of the most interesting meetings of this Society which I have ever attended. I do not remember that any of us who took part in that discussion laid stress on the new light which it threw on the performance of the *Carmen saeculare:* but it soon became apparent that it had a direct bearing not only on the performance but on the matter and composition of the hymn, and would give rise to controversy on these points. For whereas up till then we only knew that it was sung on the Palatine,[5] before the temple of Apollo which Augustus had lately built there in priuato solo, we learnt from the *Acta* (line 147) that it was sung also on the Capitol: *Sacrificioque perfecto pueri XXVII quibus denuntiatum erat patrimi et matrimi et puellae totidem carmen cecinerunt* (i.e. on the Palatine) *eodemque modo in Capitolio. Carmen composuit Q. Horatius Flaccus.*

Mommsen in commenting on this in *Ephemeris Epigraphica* VIII., where he published the inscription, insisted that the *argumentum* of the hymn forbids us to suppose that the whole of it was sung both on Palatine and on Capitoline, for only the middle part of it, where Jupiter and Juno the Capitoline deities are rather obscurely hinted at, is suited to the Capitol, while Apollo and Diana (who was associated with Apollo in the Palatine temple)[6] are prominent both at the beginning and end. The first part, he contended, was sung on the Palatine, the middle part on the Capitol, and the last part again after the return of the choirs to their original station. As to singing *en route*, he did not express a definite opinion.

This view gave rise to a good deal of controversy, as will be seen by reference to the last edition of Wickham's Horace; but it has recently been

[1] Line 40 foll.

[2] For the meaning of saeculum and saeculum condere, see Mommsen, *Rom. Chronologie* ed. 2 p. 172, and Wissowa, *Abhandlungen zur Römischen Religions- und Stadtgeschichte* pp. 200-202.

[3] Zosimus ii. 5: the oracle is in ii. 6. They are printed in Wickham's Horace in the introduction to the *Carm. Saec.*

[4] *Ephemeris Epigraphica* VIII. p. 255 foll., contains the text and Mommsen's commentary. Dessau, *Inscript. Selectae* ii. 1. 282, does not give the whole document.

[5] So Zosimus, who adds that the hymn was sung both in Latin and Greek: but of this we have no confirmation.

[6] Propertius ii. 31. 15. It also seems to be implied in Plin. *N. H.* xxxvi. 13.

re-asserted by Wissowa, who in reprinting a paper written in 1894 about the Ludi, added a note in which he declared that the threefold division of the *Carmen* 'springt in die Augen,' that lines 37-52 belong to the Capitoline worship, all the rest to that of the Palatine, and assumes that what belongs to each temple area was necessarily sung there. He too declines to speak with confidence about singing during the procession from one area to the other.[1]

It may clear the ground if I state my reasons for believing that the hymn was not sung in procession at all. True, such singing was not unknown at Rome. In 207 B.C. a choir of 27 virgins sang a *carmen* in Saturnian verse of Livius the poet as they went in procession from the shrine of Apollo in the Campus Martius to the Forum, where they stopped and danced in a peculiar manner with a rope,[2] and thence proceeded, whether singing or not Livy does not say, to the temple of Juno Regina on the Aventine, which had been struck by lightning. This performance, as Diels has observed in his *Sibyllinische Blätter*,[3] stands half-way between the old semi-magical singing and dancing of the Salii and the Fratres Arvales, and the singing of our *Carmen*, which was really only a *carmen* (so to speak) by courtesy, having no magical intent whatever,[4] and, as being in Greek lyrical metre, does not suggest dancing in the sense of any old Roman religious practice. Rhythmic movements of some kind there certainly were, as I hope to show directly, but in the two sacred areas, not in procession from one to the other. And further, the words of the *Acta* seem to me explicit: the hymn was sung on Palatine and Capitoline, and nothing is there said of any point between the two. Practically too there would have been serious difficulty in marshalling 54 boys and girls, if they sang as they went down the steep hill from the Apollo temple to the Sacra via, along that irregular way and through the narrow fornix Fabianus into the Forum, and finally up the steep ascent to the temple of Jupiter. Gardthausen, in his work on Augustus,[5] suggested that they might have stopped at particular points to sing, e.g. in the Forum: but there is nothing in the hymn or the *Acta* to support this,—no deity of the Forum is mentioned, nor did the Forum play any part in the religious rites of the Ludi. Once more, if the children had to sing in procession, accompanied as I presume they were by instruments,[6] careful rehearsal would be needed more than once: and if this were done in

[1] Wissowa, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur Römischen Religions- und Stadtgeschichte* p. 206 and note. Mommsen in *Ephemeris Epigraphica* viii. p. 256.

[2] Liv. 27. 37. 'Septem et uiginti uirgines, longam indutae uestem, carmen in Iunonem Reginam canentes ibant: illa tempestate forsitan laudabile rudibus ingeniis, nunc abhorrens et inconditum, si referatur. . . . A porta Iugario uico in forum uenere: in foro pompa constitit: et per manus reste data, uirgines sonum uocis pulsu pedum modulantes incesserunt.' Diels, *Sib. Blätter* 91, puts this rope-dancing down as Greek, not Roman, and connects it with the ropes which occur in lists of articles paid for by the ἑροποιοί in Delian inscriptions.

[3] p. 91 note 1.

[4] For the original magical meaning of the word, see Jevons in *Anthropology and the Classics*, p. 94 foll.

[5] *Augustus und seine Zeit*, vol. I. Pt. ii. p. 630. Ferrero, *Greatness and Decline of Rome*, vol. V. p. 94 note, is right in objecting to this kind of interpretation.

[6] *Aenatores* are mentioned in line 88 of the *Acta*: but these belong to another part of the Ludi. I imagine that the boys and girls were accompanied by tibicines.

public, as it must have been, it would destroy the novelty of the performance on June 3. We know from *Odes* iv. 5 *ad fin.* that Horace took pains with his rehearsing: but he says nothing there that can suggest processional singing. It is far better, I think, to accept the words of the *Acta* as giving us the simple fact. They are in other matters curiously explicit, and it is unlikely that in this one particular they should have been unnecessarily concise. I prefer even to accept the literal statement that the hymn was sung right through once on the Palatine and once on the Capitol, and that the performance came to an end there. At any rate we will for the moment assume that the children were not compelled, after singing nineteen stanzas in one place and the same number at another nearly half a mile away, to plod back again and go through them all once more at the original starting-point.

But how are we to reconcile this limitation of the places of performance to two, with the contents of the poem itself? In order to explain how I think this may be done, I must digress for a moment, and consider what the instructions must have been which Augustus gave to his poet-laureate. We must not of course imagine that on such an occasion Horace was left to himself. I suppose there is no bit of Latin poetry which has so constantly been in my mind as this hymn: and the impression it always gives me is that Augustus wrote out in prose what he wanted put into it, and that his laureate did this with consummate skill and *concinnitas;* but the result, for me at least, is that it is as flat as such compositions usually have been. Nay, it is occasionally prosy, as e.g. in the 5th and 6th stanzas. Recently Signor Ferrero has glorified it as a most magnificent poem, full of inspiration, in language which suggests as great a want of judgment in literary, as he so often exhibits in historical, criticism.[1] At any rate the inspiration came from Augustus and not from the poet's native genius.

First, I should like to point out (though it does not directly concern our problem) that Augustus clearly wished Horace to combine in the hymn the three ideas of *religion, morality, and the fertility of man, beast, and crop.* The Princeps, I have long been confident, had grasped the fundamental idea of the old Roman worship, still alive in the hearts of most Italians, that this general fertility, without which the State could not go on and prosper, depended on the dutiful attention (*pietas*) paid to the divine beings who had taken up their abode in farm or city: ideas which covered the ordered life and religion both of family and State,—both morality and religious duty. All these three ideas will be found duly expressed in the hymn.[2]

Secondly, Horace must have had instructions not to mention Augustus personally,—that would be unnecessary, owing to the prominent part taken by him in the whole ritual of the Ludi; but to give his poem a strong Apolline colouring, which was much the same thing as giving it a strong Augustan colouring, so completely had Augustus by this time come to be associated with the god whom he had settled close to his own house on the Palatine and on

[1] *Op. cit.* vol. V. p. 90 foll. [2] e.g. in lines 13 foll., 29 foll., 45 foll. and 57 foll.

his own land. This of course suited Horace exactly as a poet, and he expresses his satisfaction in *Odes* iv. 6. 29 foll. I think it is quite possible that he went a little beyond his instructions; for Apollo and Diana are far more prominent than Jupiter of the Capitol and Juno, who are only alluded to, not named.[1]

No doubt it was part of Augustus' policy to put the great Jupiter of the republic somewhat in the background as compared with his own Apollo: this can be proved in many ways:[2] yet I half suspect that Horace here went a little beyond what was required of him. The Capitoline deities had as a matter of fact been so far, i.e. up to the third day, on which the hymn was sung, more prominent in the ritual than Apollo.

Thirdly, Horace must have been told that the hymn must contain allusions to *all* the deities invoked in the ritual during the three previous nights and two days, as well as those of the third day. You will remember that offerings had been made on the first night, at the underground altar of the Tarentum, near the Tiber bank, to the Moirae, on the second to Ileithyia (or the plural), and on the third to Tellus or Ceres:[3] and these all duly appear in stanzas 4 to 8 inclusive. Then by day the sacrifices had been offered to the Capitoline deities,—and they too are here, though somewhat obscured, in lines 45 to 52. These Capitoline deities are followed by Fides, Pax, Honos, etc., of whom we do not hear anything in the ritual: but this point I must for the moment postpone. Then Apollo and Diana come to the front again, and the hymn ends with a kind of summing-up of all the deities, Jupiter, Apollo, and Diana being mentioned by name.

The result of all this is that to a casual reader the hymn is a jumble of divine names, Roman and Greek, with Apollo appearing oftener than the rest, and almost abruptly in lines 33 and 61. Even when we have learnt all about the ritual and the policy of Augustus, it is very hard to divide the poem intelligibly: and I confess that no threefold division of it has ever 'sprung into my eyes,' as into Dr. Wissowa's.[4] Those five stanzas concerned with the deities of the night-ritual absolutely forbid it. So far as I can see, it runs thus: 1. an Apolline introduction or proodos of two stanzas, with an invocation of Apollo as Sol, which I will explain directly; 2. five stanzas concerned

[1] i.e. in 45-52.

[2] See e.g. J. B. Carter, *Religion of Numa*, p. 166 foll., who has many interesting remarks on the Apollinism of Augustus.

[3] In line 29 it is tempting to write Tellus with a capital T: but here Ceres seems to be performing her part as deity. The two run very closely together throughout the early history of the Roman religion: see my *Roman Festivals*, p. 73 foll., Wissowa, *Rel. und Kult. der Römer*, p. 158 foll. Mr. Stuart Jones has drawn my attention to Petersen's very interesting suggestion of a connexion between this stanza and the slab from the Ara Pacis in the Uffizi at Florence; see Petersen, *Ara Pacis Augustae* p. 48 foll.: Mrs. Strong's *Roman Sculpture*, p. 42.

[4] *Abhandlungen* p. 206 note 1, quoting Vahlen, whose paper I have not been able to see. Wissowa seems to take the whole down to line 36 as standing together and Apolline (p. 207 note). But to me lines 13 to 32 are plainly in honour of the deities of the Tarentum, though Eileithyia is introduced first instead of second, perhaps in order to run her into a dim kind of identification with Diana Lucina, or Juno Lucina, or both. This would suit the last and Apolline day of the festival: and we must note that the Tarentine deities are not now Dis and Proserpina, i.e. sinister deities of the underworld, but helpful ones (Wiss. 208).

with the deities of the nightly worship at the Tarentum; 3. a return to Apollo for three stanzas; 4. an appeal to the Capitoline deities, whom we identify by the white victims in line 49, followed by two apparently rather irrelevant stanzas about the prestige of Rome and her virtues; 5. another return to Apollo and Diana; and a concluding stanza, summing up the whole. How are we to reconcile all this apparent confusion with the singing of the hymn on Palatine and Capitol only—i.e. on two sites with which Jupiter and Juno, Apollo and Diana were respectively alone concerned? To sing of Jupiter or the Parcae or Tellus at the temple of Apollo on the Palatine would seem inappropriate, if we assume that the whole hymn was gone through there, as the *Acta* plainly imply; and still more inappropriate would it seem that Apollo and Diana and the deities of the underground altar should be celebrated in the precincts of the great Jupiter of the Capitol.

The solution of these difficulties which I now propose for criticism has been suggested by a consideration of the nature of the two sites on which we know for certain that the hymn was sung: combined with the further consideration, in which no doubt everyone will agree with me, that this hymn was not sung by two choruses of boys and girls standing stock still all the time, but making certain movements like the simple evolutions of the Greek chorus. This is now made clear by line 21 of the *Acta*, which probably belongs to a letter of Augustus to the quindecemviri datable some three months before the festival. This left plenty of time for choir training, and the inference is that there was plenty to learn. The words of Augustus' letter show that there was more than learning the hymn by heart; the necessary steps are to be taken 'ad carmen canendum *chorosque habendos*.' Here some kind of evolutions must be meant, if not exactly dancing.[1] We cannot know what those movements were for certain; but we may be sure that they would add to the interest and pleasure both of performers and spectators: and perhaps what I am going to say about the nature of the two sites will help us in guessing at some of them.

The only possible site of the temple of Apollo, says Hülsen,[2] is at the north-eastern corner of the Palatine, where its substructures of brickwork indicate an area of 110 by 150 metres, in the rear-centre of which it stood, with its back walls almost hanging over the spot where the arch of Constantine now stands. Doubtless these substructures raised the whole area above the average level of the Palatine: Ovid suggests this strongly in the lines in his *Tristia* in which he imagines his book arriving in Rome from Tomi and climbing up to this temple:[3]

Inde tenore pari gradibus sublimia celsis
Ducor ad intonsi candida templa dei.

[1] For Horace's use of the word *chorus*, see *Odes* iv. 7. 6: i. 4. 5. Cp. Propertius ii. 2. 28.

[2] Hülsen-Jordan, *Rom. Topographie* I. iii. p. 72.

[3] *Tristia* iii. 59 foll. (The words 'tenore pari' seem to me now distinctly to favour the new view as to the site of the temple, if we take them to mean 'going straight on,' equivalent to *uno tenore*, as Mr. A. C. Clark suggests to me. As Ovid's book is supposed to enter the Palatine by the temple of Jup. Stator from the Sacra Via,

The view from the area must have been magnificent; it enclosed the temple to north, south, and west, and in this open space a few very simple movements would enable the chorus to command every other site of religious or historical interest in the city, now adorned in all directions with new or restored buildings. There was no building as yet in the Palatine that could interfere with this view. Immediately opposite was the Capitol, with its own splendid temple, rising above the Forum; and beyond that again, plainly visible in the distance just to the left of the Capitoline hill, was the site of the Tarentum, where the midnight ceremonies had been held.[1] Let us now apply our knowledge of this splendid prospect to the subject-matter of the *Carmen.*

At once we see that the first three stanzas hang together, and contain a happy allusion to the view from the area: 'possis nihil Roma uisere maius.' But they contain also another allusion, which (so far as I know) has not been noticed in this connexion. On the *fastigium* of the temple there was, as Propertius tells us,[2] a figure of Sol with a quadriga:

> Tum medium claro surgebat marmore templum
> Et patria Phoebo carius Ortygia.
> In quo Solis erat supra fastigia currus . . .

If we suppose that the first two stanzas were sung by the united choirs in position, or as they wheeled into position on the area, facing the view, we may safely conjecture that when they reached the third stanza they would wheel again to face the temple and Sol looking down from his *fastigium.* If the real sun were shining at the time the effect of this fine stanza would be very impressive. It is in my humble judgment the best in the poem:

> Alme Sol, curru nitido diem qui
> Promis et celas, aliusque et idem
> Nasceris, possis nihil urbe Roma
> Visere maius.

As they sang these last words the choirs may have wheeled again to face the prospect of the city. If so, they would then be in the right position for celebrating the next group of deities, those of the Tarentum and the nightly rites, who must of course be taken before those of day and light, as in the order of the festival.

With what movements, if any, the following five stanzas were sung, which plainly refer to the nightly rites, invoking the female deities there worshipped, it is impossible to say. They may have all been sung by the girls, and softly: they are certainly not so well suited to the boys. Nor would it be easy to

and to arrive first at the *domus* of Augustus, it would have to turn sharp to the left to reach the Apollo temple, if it were on Hülsen's site, but would go straight on if it were beyond the *domus* near the western corner of the Palatine.

[1] Since this paper was written Mr. Stuart Jones has assured me that the view towards the Tarentum would be interfered with by the Capitoline hill and the temple of Jupiter. On the other hand, this would not be the case if we accept the other site for the Apollo temple.

[2] Propertius iii. 28 foll.

explain why there are so many of them,—five in all,—if Augustus had not given his poet strict orders to bring in the *lex de maritandis ordinibus*,[1]—a task accomplished deftly in that prosaic stanza to which I referred just now. Doubtless Horace was very glad to get back to Apollo in the next group of stanzas, to which I now turn.

The more closely I examine the hymn, the more convinced I become that it is purposely written so as to keep its Apolline character persistently in the minds of the audience; three of its five parts are Apolline,—the first, third, and fifth: in between these we have the deities of the Tarentum and those of the Capitol. This reversion to the Apolline character would be emphasized, at the point we have now reached, by a movement of the choirs which would bring them once more into position facing the temple.

There is a difficulty here as to how far we are to consider this reversion to Apollo and Diana as continuing. Wissowa[2] would limit it to one stanza, putting a full stop (I suppose) after *puellas*, and connecting the four following stanzas together as Capitoline, i.e. as addressed to Jupiter and Juno. By general consent the last of these, beginning '*Quaeque uos bobus ueneratur albis*' is so addressed: for the white heifer was the special victim of Jupiter, and was never offered to Apollo: the *Acta* inform us that Jupiter and Juno had on the two previous days been propitiated with *boues pulchri* and *pulchrae*, while to Apollo had been offered only *cakes* of various kinds. There is also a strong opinion (Mommsen, Vahlen, Wissowa) that the stanza immediately before this one, '*Di probos mores*, etc.,' belongs to the Capitoline deities, and with this I agree, seeing that *probi mores*, and the general well-being of the *gens Romula* would be much more naturally connected with Jupiter and Juno than with Apollo and Diana. But I cannot, with Wissowa, begin the Capitoline part with 'Roma si uestrum est opus'; Apollo was the protecting god of Troy, and the way in which he is treated in *Od.* iv. 6, written at this same time, seems to me to make it clear that Augustus wished to encourage the idea that Rome was in a legendary sense at least the work of Apollo. I should therefore put a full stop after *relictis*, and there end the Apolline diversion: and imagine the choirs turning towards the Capitoline temple in front of them to begin,—perhaps after a pause,—the address to Jupiter and Juno with 'Di, probos mores docili iuuentae.'

With this must be connected, not only the next stanza, about which there is no doubt, but that which follows it; in both these we have a distinct expression of the imperial idea, and the mission of Rome in the world, and this idea could be associated with no other deity than Jupiter Capitolinus, and with no other temple than his. Every outward sign of the Roman *imperium* was thus associated in the minds of the people, and Augustus must have known well enough that any change in this could only be very gradually accomplished.

I will also hazard a conjecture that the 15th stanza, with the names of

[1] This lex Julia had come into effect the year before that of the Ludi, viz. 18 B.C.

[2] *Abhandlungen* p. 207 note.

Fides, Pax, and other deified abstractions, belongs to this Capitoline section of the hymn. The abode of Fides, an ancient goddess, was on the Capitol, and there is hardly a doubt that she was closely connected with Jupiter. Wissowa thinks that she was an offshoot from the ancient Dius Fidius, who must be identified with Jupiter.[1] The notion in Augustus' mind, which Horace had here to reproduce, was, I think, to lay stress on the Pax Romana, which must rest on the basis of treaties and good faith; and I look upon Fides as here playing the part of a *callida iunctura*, connecting Pax, Honos, Virtus, and Pudor, with the great deities of the Capitol. Pax was in Augustus' head at this time, just hovering, so to speak, on the verge of deification, as may be seen in Tibullus i. 10: and the Ara Pacis was begun only four years later.[2] Honos et Virtus, though separated in the hymn for metrical reasons, must go together as they always did at Rome; their character is military, and they suggest Mars and the warlike virtues, which would otherwise be unmentioned in the hymn.[3] The Pax Romana, let us remember, depended on these virtues as well as the domestic ones. Lastly, Pudor would probably have been Pudicitia if the metre had admitted of it; the latter was the female family virtue at Rome, and here I think we may see a compliment to Livia, and through her to the Roman matrons. Valerius Maximus not long afterwards, in the preface to his sixth book, *de Pudicitia*, thus addressed her: 'Tu prisca religione consecratos Vestae focos incolis, tu Capitolinae Iunonis puluinaribus incubas, tu Palatii columen augustos Penates sanctissimumque Iuliae genialem torum adsidua statione celebras.'

This brings us to the end of the Capitoline section of the hymn as I understand it, all of which would be sung with the great Capitoline temple as the most conspicuous object in view. Then we return once more to Apollo and Diana, the choir wheeling round so as to face the temple behind them, and possibly turning towards the Aventine at line 69. Here with great skill the poet introduces Apollo as *augur*, probably in allusion to the *augurium salutis*, which Augustus had revived in B.C. 29,[4] and with the physical welfare of the people still more distinctly in lines 63 and 64. The verbs become indicative,[5] anxious prayer changes to confident assertion: and the prosperous future of Rome is thus happily associated with the Augustan Apollo at the end of the performance on the Palatine. The 19th and last stanza, which sums up the whole ceremony as Horace and his choirs are about to return to their homes, could not, I think, have been sung here; it was kept to the real end of the

[1] *Rel. und Kult.* p. 103.

[2] Wissowa, *R. K.* p. 277.

[3] Wissowa, *R. K.* p. 135 foll. It used to be supposed that there was a temple to these deities on the Capitol (see e.g. Burn, *Rome and the Campagna* p. 193), the work of Marius. The site of Marius' temple is however uncertain, though this passage of the *Carmen* might be used to support the old hypothesis. The best-known temple was near the Porta Capena: and it is probably of this temple that Dio Cassius writes (liv. 18) that Augustus in this year 17 B.C. fixed the date of its festival on May 29; which is almost the same thing as saying that he rebuilt it.

[4] Dio Cass. li. 20: Suet. *Aug.* 31. We know hardly anything about this antique ceremony: but the language of Dio in xxxvii. 24 1 shows that the word *salutis* (Wissowa, *R. K.* 453) is not the deity Salus, but the health of the people: cp. Cic. *de Legibus* ii. 21: 'augures ... salutem populi auguranto.' The medical character of Apollo is apparent in line 63-64.

[5] See Wickham's commentary.

performance, was added as an odd or lucky number, and would be more appropriate to the temple which was still the spiritual home of the idea of Roman greatness. Towards that temple the procession would now make its way, down the steep ascent to the Sacra via, and so through the Forum up to the area Capitolina. Let us now in the last place shortly consider how the hymn was adapted to this site as perfectly as to the other.

The area Capitolina was even larger than that of the Apollo temple, and the view from it was equally magnificent; these two religious sites were in fact the only two in which the choirs would have had ample space for evolutions, and from which at the same time they would be able to see almost every other important religious site in Rome. A good idea may be formed of the size of the Capitoline area from Lanciani's map to scale of the Sacra via,[1] which includes both the Coliseum and the Capitoline; there it will be seen that the area is at least as large as the whole space occupied by the Coliseum. The temple stood in the middle of it, which accounts for the somewhat astonishing fact that (at one time) chariot-races,—a mild form, I presume,—used to be held here at the time of the Latin festival.[2] As time went on other temples were built here, but there was plenty of room for meetings of Comitia up to the end of the republican period. If we apply these facts to the performance of the *Carmen* here, we see at once that it could be gone through with motions as perfectly appropriate as on the Palatine.

The new temple of Apollo, which they had just left, was in full view across the Forum, with the quadriga of Sol on its *fastigium*,—probably in its newness the most brilliant object in sight. Doubtless the choirs would be facing it as they sang the first three stanzas. The site of the Tarentum across the Campus Martius was of course visible from the southern end of the area, and here the choirs would be during the next five stanzas, while they would wheel again to the west when they reached the second Apolline passage. They would be drawn up in front of the great temple during the Capitoline stanzas that follow, and would wheel about once more for the three Apolline ones with which the singing had concluded on the Palatine.

There would then remain the 19th stanza, summing up the whole performance:

> Haec Iouem sentire deosque cunctos
> spem bonam certamque domum reporto
> doctus et Phoebi chorus et Dianae
> dicere laudes.

This is an extremely clever stanza; Horace contrives to bring in Jupiter as after all the presiding genius of Rome, upon whose good will the future of the State depends, and as also the presiding deity among all the rest,—*dei cuncti*, of all of whom, including Apollo, there were statues in the area Capitolina.[3] To me

[1] In his *Ruins and Excavations of ancient Rome*, fig. 72.

[2] Plin. *N. H.* xxvii. 45.

[3] Servius, *ad Aen.* ii. 319. The statue of Apollo here was a remarkable one, thirty cubits high, brought from Apollonia by M. Lucullus, as Pliny tells us *N. H.* iv. 92 and xxxiv. 30.

it seems impossible that this concluding stanza should have been sung anywhere but in that area. But at the same time Horace has most dexterously managed to make the final touch an Apolline one, as would in fact be fitting on a day especially dedicated to the Augustan Apollo. Phoebus and Diana are not here alluded to as the controllers of the destinies of Rome, but as the deities in whose honour the choirs, now about to disperse, have learnt and sung this hymn.

Beyond doubt this last stanza was sung by both boys and girls. How the rest of the *Carmen* was distributed between them I think it is impossible to determine, though many attempts have been made. I have made attempts myself, but never reached a satisfactory conclusion: we simply have not the necessary data. I have found it much more interesting and instructive to myself to correlate the divisions of the hymn with the two sites in which we know it was sung, and the views from them.

It is difficult to realize to the full, even for one who has been constantly occupied with the religious side of Roman life, how intensely local all Roman worship was,—how intimate the association between place and cult.[1] It was in fact a perfectly right instinct that prompted Mommsen and others to assume that the Apolline part of the hymn must have been sung on the Palatine, and the Jovian part on the Capitolium, and thus even to strain the plain words of the inscription, 'Eodemque modo in Capitolio . . .' But it was clearly impossible to carry out such a principle logically on this June 3; for to do it the choirs would have had to make a pilgrimage of about a mile and back right across the Campus Martius to the Tarentum, and there to sing, in broad daylight instead of at night, the stanzas appropriated to the Tarentine deities. Yet to leave these out would have been to violate the plan of Augustus for including in the last performance all the deities invoked in the festival. Instead of this Augustus chose the two finest religious sites in Rome, from each of which everything could be seen that was to be alluded to in the hymn, for the complete performance; so far yielding to popular feeling and conviction as to fix the second and last performance for the Capitolium, the real religious centre of the whole empire: but astutely taking care that the *interest* of this third day's entertainment should be closely connected with himself and the new régime, and that the religious colouring of the ritual and the hymn should be emphatically Apolline. Nothing could please his poet better:

> Spiritum Phoebus mihi, Phoebus artem
> carminis nomenque dedit poetae.

[1] The same holds good in the case of Ludi, which were in origin only a form of cult. The ludi Romani e.g. were in the cult of Jupiter, and originally took place on the dedication day of the Capitoline temple, the ides of September. The Megalesia were celebrated before the temple of Magna Mater, 'in ipso Magnae Matris conspectu' (Cic. *Harusp. Resp.* 24).

W. Warde Fowler.

SOPHOCLEA.

I.

OEDIPVS TYRANNVS.

THESE notes are written with special reference to Jebb's edition, as having practically superseded every other. In spite of its many and undoubted merits, this edition contains more errors than the general public believes; and if I am compelled by the nature of the case to touch only upon the latter in the following observations, I hope I shall not be supposed to be blind to the former. In such a case one must needs appear to write, as De Quincey has it, 'in a mood of revolting arrogance.'

100. ἀνδρηλατοῦντας ἢ φόνῳ φόνον πάλιν
λύοντας, ὡς τόδ' αἷμα χειμάζον πόλιν.

Is not the meaning, 'on the ground that this which plagues the city is blood'? (cf. 241). Something is plaguing it, we all know; Apollo says it is a murder; therefore we must either banish the guilty, or expiate blood with blood.

The ordinary explanation, 'on the ground that this blood is plaguing the city,' labours under two difficulties: τόδ' αἷμα is strangely used, and most unnatural, seeing that no particular murder has yet been mentioned, though it is no doubt just possible to say that it is justified by φόνον in the preceding line. Secondly, the general sense is very weak. To say 'because this murder vexes the city' throws the emphasis on χειμάζον; but it is ridiculous for anyone to announce as a novelty from Apollo that the State was labouring under a storm—that was precisely why they asked Apollo for help. Or if you say the emphasis is on '*this* murder,' then *this* is meaningless. Mudge saw the absurdity of the common translation, but his τήνδε for τόδ' is worse than unnecessary.

Two lines back Jebb involves himself in gratuitous difficulties, through refusing the obvious translation of ἀνήκεστον τρέφειν. The μίασμα was *not* incurable, as he has to admit.

186. Παιὰν δὲ λάμπει στονόεσσά τε γῆρυς ὅμαυλος.

The pæan would be accompanied by the lyre, the αὐλὸς is appropriate to lamentation; ὅμαυλος includes this idea, being a characteristic Sophoclean compound.

ἄναυλος Nauck, approved by Blaydes on the ground that 'αὐλοῦ βοή tantum laetae rerum conditioni conuenit.' But I suppose no one will deny that the αὐλός was used at funerals.

205. Jebb strangely insists on taking ἐνδατεῖσθαι as a passive, 'to be distributed, i.e. *showered abroad* on the hostile forces.' Against the other translation '*celebrate*' he objects that ἐνδατεῖσθαι is used in a bad sense in *Trach.* 791, 'blaming,' and in the good sense 'only in *Aesch.* fr. 340.' To which the answer is that ἐνδατεῖσθαι is *never* used by any good author as a passive, and *never* in the sense of being showered abroad, while that of 'distributed' is so wretchedly feeble here that he dare not dwell on it.

220. οὐ γὰρ ἄν μακρὰν
ἴχνευον αὐτὸς μὴ οὐκ ἔχων τι σύμβολον.

Am I dreaming, or is not the meaning of this passage clear as daylight? 'I ask for a clue, for I could not have travelled far without one myself (if I had been in Thebes at the time).' The αὐτός is a touch of that self-conceit which appears now and then in Oedipus. ἴχνευον is imperfect because it denotes continued action in the past. μὴ οὐκ ἔχων = εἰ μὴ εἶχον. Of course οὐκ ἄν ἴχνευον cannot imply such a protasis as 'if I had not made such an appeal to you' for a clue, for just consider what that will involve. 'If I had not asked, I should not have gone far,' implies that as it is the speaker *has* gone far. But he has not even started yet, and all his tracking must be done in the future. We should require ἰχνεύοιμι ἄν.

The connection of thought, then, is this: 'If you will listen to me and do something to help (by telling me anything you know), you may get some relief. (Of course without a clue nothing can be done), for I could not have got far if I had not had one myself at the time (still less can I now).'

This view is very similar to Kennedy's, but I do not agree with him in taking ξένος to have anything to do with the citizenship of Oedipus. And he mistranslates μὴ οὐ, as it appears to me.

227. κεἰ μὲν φοβεῖται, τοὐπίκλημ' ὑπεξελὼν
αὐτὸς καθ' αὑτοῦ, πείσεται γὰρ ἄλλο μὲν
ἀστεργὲς οὐδέν, γῆς δ' ἄπεισιν ἀβλαβής.

I believe this reading of the MSS. to be perfectly sound. It is a mixture of (1) ἄλλο μὲν πείσεται οὐδὲν γῆς δ' ἄπεισιν, and (2) πείσεται γὰρ ἄλλο οὐδέν, γῆς ἄπεισιν, or rather ἀπίτω, but owing to the mixture of constructions ἀπίτω is assimilated to πείσεται. No doubt this is strange enough, but then look at 303: πόλιν μέν, εἰ καὶ μὴ βλέπεις, φρονεῖς δ' ὅμως οἵᾳ νόσῳ σύνεστιν, a mixture of οὐ βλέπεις φρονεῖς δὲ and εἰ μὴ βλέπεις, φρονεῖς. *Ant.* 234: κεἰ τὸ μηδὲν ἐξερῶ φράσω δ' ὅμως. Philostratus, *Vit. Apoll.* VII 11: τὸ γὰρ καλοῦντος μέν, οὔπω δ' ἡμέραι δέκα, ὥς φασι, σὲ δ' ἀφῖχθαι.

So practically also Matthiae and Hermann.

430, 1146. οὐκ εἰς ὄλεθρον ;

This phrase, with the ordinary Attic scansion, would be impossible in tragedy; the lengthening of the second syllable of ὄλεθρον raises it sufficiently in tone. It is a little thing, but always seems to me a touch very characteristic of the art of Sophocles.

476. φοιτᾷ γὰρ ὑπ' ἀγρίαν
ὕλαν ἀνά τ' ἄντρα καὶ
πέτρας ἰσόταυρος.

This does not in the very least mean that the murderer is wandering in the woods and rocks ; for all the Chorus know, he may be in Thebes. It means : 'He wanders about as a bull wanders among woods and rocks.' Cf. *Ajax* 169 for a similar hypallage of the simile and its subject, and the still bolder phrase in *Ajax* 196 : ἐχθρῶν δ' ὕβρις ἀτάρβητος ὁρμᾶται ἐν εὐανέμοις βάσσαις. Keats is very audacious in a like manner :

'The moving waters at their priestly task
Of pure ablution round earth's human shores.'

483. δεινὰ μὲν οὖν, δεινὰ ταράσσει σοφὸς οἰωνοθέτας,
οὔτε δοκοῦντ' οὔτ' ἀποφάσκονθ' · ὅτι λέξω δ' ἀπορῶ.

The late George Gissing, in a quasi-novel entitled *The Papers of Henry Rycroft*, being discontented with the idea that these lines are choriambic, inasmuch as they are immediately followed by a more definitely Ionic rhythm, proposed that the first syllable of each should be regarded as an anacrusis and the rest scanned as Ionics *a minore*. As usual with choric metres, one can prove nothing definite in any direction, but for myself I feel convinced that the true scansion is as follows in both lines :

⏑ ⏑ ⏑ | — — ⏑ ⏑ | — — ⏑ ⏑ | — — ⏑ ⏑ | —

The long syllable equivalent to four morai is a marked feature of this ode, and appears a particularly appropriate beginning, because of the heavy brooding effect it gives. Again, it is almost safe to assume that when Sophocles repeats the same word in a line it will be scanned as of two different values, as is here the case in each line on my hypothesis.

966. ὧν ὑφηγητῶν ἐγὼ
κτανεῖν ἔμελλον πατέρα.

So practically all MSS. κτενεῖν Editors, on the ground that Sophocles never uses the aorist infinitive after μέλλω. Yet I think we ought to keep κτανεῖν here. Many years ago I pointed out in the *Journal of Philology*, No. 41, p. 43, that the aorist after μέλλω is allowed by Plato in a peculiar sense, i.e. when μέλλω δρᾶσαι = δεῖ δρᾶσαι. Here also κτανεῖν ἔμελλον = κτανεῖν ἔδει, 'I was bound to kill' rather than 'I was going to kill.' Or again it may be said here to be equivalent to ἔκτανον ἄν.

If we examine the two great tragedians, we find that they do not use the different tenses quite recklessly. At least, if we can rely on Beatson's *Indices*, Aeschylus has the present when the meaning is *delay* (*P. V.* 654), the future when μέλλω = I am going to do a thing (*P. V.* 665, 861, *Cho.* 858, 866), and τελεῖν should accordingly be regarded as future at *Agam.* 965, and the aorist, μέλλω παθεῖν = δεῖ με παθεῖν, at *P. V.* 652 (cf. Lucian, *Deorum. Diol.* i 1, ὧν σέ δεῖ παθεῖν). So I should classify them, though the boundary lines are of course hazy and the last-mentioned passage *could* be put under the second head.

Sophocles is a little freer. In the first meaning (*delay*) he uses only the present (*O. T.* 678, *O. C.* 1627, *Aj.* 540, *Ph.* 1449), but in the second either present (*O. C.* 1774, *Ph.* 409, *Tr.* 758, *El.* 1486) or future (seven times). Under the third head I should put *O. T.* 1385, ἔμελλον ὁρᾶν = ἔδει ὁρᾶν, *Aj.* 443, κρίνειν ἔμελλε = ἔδει κρίνειν, and our present passage. Thus he uses both present and aorist in this sense, but there is no clear instance of the future in him.

I only know of one example of the aorist after μέλλω = delay, *Rhesus* 673, τί μέλλετε σῶσαι βίον ;

1071. ἰοὺ ἰού, δύστηνε· τοῦτο γάρ σ' ἔχω
μόνον προσειπεῖν, ἄλλο δ' οὔποθ' ὕστερον.

There is a curious parallel to this in the last words spoken by the Man in the Iron Mask in *Le Vicomte de Bragelonne*. 'Call me neither Monsieur nor Monseigneur' it runs as well as I remember; 'appelez-moi MAUDIT.'

1078. φρονεῖ γὰρ ὡς γυνὴ μέγα.

I think the meaning is that Jocasta is eaten up by family pride, as women are apt to be. Everybody must know what absurd importance women often attach to what they call 'good family.' Kennedy objects to a somewhat similar explanation, but does not seem to have considered the line from this point of view.

1155. δύστηνος, ἀντὶ τοῦ ;

The nominative δύστηνος, thus used as an exclamation, never, I believe, refers to any but the speaker himself. Consequently it in no way 'points to the coming disclosure,' but is a cry of fear on the parts of the *Therapon* because of the threat of Oedipus in the preceding line. In 1071 we get the vocative, as we should expect, because Jocasta is there addressing Oedipus. In 1303 we must read for this and other reasons φεῦ, φεῦ, δύστην' (as Jebb does in his final text), which is echoed by φεῦ φεῦ δύστανος ἐγώ in the mouth of Oedipus at 1308. Yet if ὦ be added it *may* be used in reference to others than the speaker, *Ant.* 379.

1247. θάνοι μὲν αὐτὸς τὴν δὲ τίκτουσαν λίποι
τοῖς οἷσιν αὐτοῦ δύστεκνον παιδουργίαν.

Jebb is evidently right in saying that these words can only mean 'leaving the mother to breed accursed offspring with his own.' Yet is not παιδουργίαν

for *παιδουργὸν* well-nigh incredible? I cannot help thinking that Sophocles wrote *τῇ δὲ τικτούσῃ*, which might be changed into the accusative either by reading *τὴν* for *τῇι* accidentally or because of the other dative *τοῖς οἶσιν*. If this be so, translate 'left to the mother accursed child-bearing to his own children.'

1271. *αὐδῶν τοιαῦθ' ὁθούνεκ' οὐκ ὄψοιντό νιν*
οὐθ' οἳ' ἔπασχεν οὔθ' ὁποῖ' ἔδρα κακά.

These words are utter nonsense. Oedipus could not say that his eyes should not see in the future the evil things done by him in the past. Hermann was on the right lines when he proposed to read *ὄψαιντο* as an aorist; but the evidence for such an aorist in Attic tragedy is non-existent. It seems to me that Sophocles must have written *ἴδοιντο*, and that this was corrupted in consequence of *ὀψοίαθ'* in 1274. (*αἴσθοιντο* or *ὄσσοιντο* are suggested by Kennedy, but *ὄσσοιντο* is surely as impossible as *ὄψαιντο* itself, and *αἴσθοιντο* is no nearer to *ὄψοιντο* than *ἴδοιντο*, and in every other way inferior.)

1278. *ἀλλ' ὁμοῦ μέλας*
ὄμβρος χάλαζά θ' αἱματοῦσσ' ἐτέγγετο.

This I take to be beyond reasonable doubt the true reading (Porson, and cf. Housman in *Journal of Philology*, No. 39, p. 31). But what is the precise meaning? The 'black rain' is evidently blood, the 'hail' ought to be something different, and it is clear that there would really be something else; the 'vitreous body,' which forms the great bulk of the eye, would ooze out through the rents, something like the white of a raw egg. Being mixed with the blood, it is very accurately described as *χάλαζα αἱματοῦσσα*. The details are horrible, but Sophocles goes far beyond any other tragedian in his use of physical horror and pain. Who shall say that he is wrong? The dreadful sight revealed by the lifted robe of Heracles in the *Trachiniae* was probably still more horrifying in its effect. It is curious to observe how much more lightly Shakespeare describes the blinding of Gloucester in that hotly-disputed scene of *Lear* (Act III., Sc. 7), and yet it is too much for most modern critics. It is true that the actual blinding is there done on the stage, but it is evident that it cannot have any but a descriptive effect; the spectators cannot see any real blinding. The 'vile jelly' there corresponds in a way to the *χάλαζα* of Sophocles.

ὁμοῦ in 1278 means 'mixed together.'

The words *φοίνιαι γλῆναι* in 1276 are an anticipation of this fuller description.

1291. *μενῶν δόμοις ἀραῖος ὡς ἠράσατο.*

It has long seemed to me that *ὡς ἠράσατο* is miserably weak, and that Sophocles must have said something far more forcible, something like 'bringing on the house the curses which he had invoked.' *ὡς* and *ὧν*

are often confused, e.g. *Trach.* 715, and see Thompson on Gorgias 492E. (In Plato *Rep.* 390B the best correction would be, I think, *ὧν μόνος ἐγρηγόρως ἐβουλεύσατο, τούτων . . .*) But then is *ἀραῖος ὧν ἠράσατο* possible? It is certainly difficult, but hardly more so perhaps than *κάλλος κακῶν ὕπουλον*, where *κακῶν* depends on the noun involved in *ὕπουλον*, and so *ὧν* here would depend on the noun involved in *ἀραῖος* (cf. Aesch. *Sep.* 876). Certainly *τυφλὸς τῶν ἄλλων* in Xen. *Symp.* iv. 12 looks to me quite as strange, though it is also quite different. Then again in *Philoctetes* 1066 we have *οὐδὲ σοῦ φωνῆς ἔτι προσφθεγκτός*, as remarkable a genitive, however we explain it.

In short, I should like to believe that Sophocles here wrote *ἀραῖος ὧν ἠράσατο*, and should be thankful to see it justified.

1348. *ὥς σ' ἠθέλησα μηδ' ἀναγνῶναί ποτε.*

(*ποτε* A. *ποτ' ἄν* L.). This is impossible, but Hermann's *μηδέ γ' ἂν γνῶναι* is even worse, as *μηδέ γ'* is not Greek at all unless *μηδὲ* be a connecting particle. Fancy preferring this to Dobree's *μηδαμὰ γνῶναι*! But Dobree kept *ἂν* after *ποτε*; read rather *ἠθέλησ' ἂν μηδαμὰ γνῶναί ποτε*, the authority of A. being, to say the least, as good as that of the first hand of L., and the position of *ἂν* being very unnatural if kept till so late in the sentence (*μηδάμ' ἂν*, Wecklein).

II.

TRACHINIAE.

161. *εἶπε μὲν λέχους ὅτι . . . . εἶπε δ' ἣν.*

The relative *ἣν* in the second clause follows the interrogative *ὅτι* in the first according to the correct old idiom. There are at least four examples of it (two of them not interrogative however) in Homer:—

Il. ix 392: *ὅστις οἵ τ' ἐπέοικε καὶ ὃς βασιλεύτερός ἐστιν.*

Il. xv 664: *ἠμὲν ὅτῳ ζώουσιν καὶ ᾧ κατατεθνήκασι.*

Od. xvii 363: *γνοίη θ' οἵτινές εἶεν ἐναίσιμοι οἵ τ' ἀθέμιστοι.*

and *Od.* x 110: *ὅστις τῶνδ' εἴη βασιλεὺς καὶ οἷσιν ἀνάσσοι*, where Aristarchus, apparently not understanding this point, read *τοῖσιν*; in his favour is the scansion, but I think the long *καὶ* is justified by the bucolic diaeresis. The same construction is found occasionally in later writers. Thuc. i 137, *φράζει ὅστις ἐστὶ καὶ δι' ἃ φεύγει.* Lucian, *Vitarum Auctio* 12, *λέγε ὁπόσα πρόσεστιν αὐτῷ καὶ ἃ μετιὼν τυγχάνει.* Papias *apud* Eusebium, *Hist. Eccl.* iii 39, *τοὺς τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ἀνέκρινον λόγους· τί Ἀνδρέας ἢ τί Πέτρος εἶπεν . . . . . ἅ τε Ἀριστίων καὶ ὁ πρεσβύτερος Ἰωάννης . . . λέγουσιν.*

I take it that e.g. *οἵτινες οἵ τε* was originally short for *οἵτινες οἵτινές τε*, and the use was then extended to *ὅστις καὶ οἷσιν*, etc. But as both forms of expression were possible, as one could say either *φράζει (ἐκεῖνα) δι' ἃ φεύγει* or *φράζει δι' ἅτινα*, so it is not surprising to find in time the original order inverted.

Soph. *Tr.* 1118, *οὐ γὰρ ἂν γνοίης ἐν οἷς . . . κἀν ὅτοις.* Porphyry *de Abst.* ii 61, *οἶδεν ἃ θυτέον καὶ ὧν ἀφεκτέον καὶ τίνα προσενεκτέον καὶ τίνων ἀπαρκτέον.*

210. *ὁμοῦ δὲ παιᾶνα παιᾶν' ἀνάγετ' ὦ παρθένοι.*

It is a trial of faith to scan *-ᾶν' ἀνάγετ'* here as a first paeon; there is nothing paeonian about this ode. I suspect we should read *ἀνάγετε παρθένοι.* And if we are to accept *ἀνολολυξάτω* in 205 the first two lines of the ode should be written perhaps

ἀνολολυξάτω δόμοις
ἐφεστίοισιν ἀλαλαγαῖς.

The arrangement adopted by Jebb from J. H. H. Schmidt is disastrous, as Schmidt's arrangements so often are.

327. *ἡ δέ τοι τύχη*
κακὴ μὲν αὐτῇ γ' ἀλλὰ συγγνώμην ἔχει.

So impossible is it to make any sense of this that Jebb is reduced to explaining *τύχη* to mean the state of Iole's mind. Obviously it can only mean her state of slavery. Nor does any tinkering with *αὐτῇ γ'* help us. The sense required is however obvious: 'her condition is no doubt a bad one, but if she maintains an obstinate silence we must make allowances for her'. It is not her misfortune for which anybody can make allowance, it is herself. This sense we can get by reading

κακὴ μὲν ἀλλ' αὐτή γε συγγνώμην ἔχει.

The meaning is then very like *O. C.* 1014:

ὁ ξεῖνος ὦναξ χρηστός· αἱ δὲ συμφοραὶ
αὐτοῦ πανώλεις, ἄξιαι δ' ἀμυναθεῖν,

even if we do not there read *ἄξιος.*

The displacement of *μὲν* scarcely needs defence; see e.g. line 18 of this play.

419. *ἣν ὑπ' ἀγνοίας ὁρᾷς.*

For this use of *ὑπὸ* compare *ὑπὸ σπουδῆς*, 'in a hurry.' It is not recognized by Liddell and Scott, but I have seen it a dozen times at least, though the only instance I can at present lay my hand on is Thuc. III. 33, *ὁ δὲ ὑπὸ σπουδῆς ἐποιεῖτο τὴν δίωξιν.* This cannot mean 'he pursued because of hurry' but only 'in a hasty way or state of mind,' just as *ὑπ' ἀγνοίας* means 'in assumed ignorance of mind.' This parallel seems to meet Jebb's objections.

698. *ῥεῖ πᾶν ἄδηλον καὶ κατέψηκται χθονί,*
μορφῇ μάλιστ' εἰκαστὸν ὥστε πρίονος
ἐκβρώματ' ἂν βλέψειας ἐν τομῇ ξύλου.
τοιόνδε κεῖται προπετές· ἐκ δὲ γῆς, ὅθεν

προΰκειτ', ἀναζέουσι θρομβώδεις ἀφροί,
γλαυκῆς ὀπώρας ὥστε πίονος ποτοῦ
χυθέντος εἰς γῆν Βακχίας ἀπ' ἀμπέλου.

Sophocles, who has been truly called the most medical of all great poets,[1] here describes the action of the poison on the wool with which Deianira had anointed the robe of Heracles and upon the soil of the ground where it fell. He was not talking vaguely and 'poetically,' but was full of medical ideas which he treats in a free and truly poetical manner. Hear Galen (Kühn, vol. ii, p. 135) talking of the effects of *black bile* when in a diseased condition: ξύει γε τὸ σῶμα τοῦ ζῴου καὶ τὴν γῆν, εἰ κατ' αὐτῆς ἐκχυθείη, καί τινα μετὰ πομφολύγων οἷον ζύμωσίν τε καὶ ζέσιν ἐργάζεται, σηπεδόνος ἐπικτήτου προσελθούσης ἐκείνῳ τῷ κατὰ φύσιν ἔχοντι χυμῷ τῷ μέλανι. It is impossible to read this without being reminded of the Sophoclean passage, and what adds still further to the coincidence is that Galen a few lines back has written: οἶνον δή μοι νόει γλεύκινον οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ τῶν σταφυλῶν ἐκτεθλιμμένον ζέοντά τε (filling with gases) καὶ ἀλλοιούμενον ὑπὸ τῆς ἐν αὐτῷ θερμασίας· ἔπειτα κατὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ μεταβολὴν δύο γεννώμενα περιττώματα (bye-products), τὸ μὲν κουφότερόν τε καὶ ἀερωδέστερον τὸ δὲ βαρύτερόν τε καὶ γεωδέστερον. To the former of these products he compares the yellow bile, to the latter the black. Turn back to *Trach.* 573, and you will find that the poison was the *black bile* of the hydra.

It is certainly curious to find in both authors black bile (1) compared to fermenting grape juice, (2) corroding the body of a living creature, (3) working in a similar manner upon the earth, (4) bubbling and 'boiling' (which according to Aristotle only means 'aeration of a liquid'). Compare more closely their language. Soph. ψῇ κατ' ἄκρας σπόδιον (688. So Jebb, σπιλάδος MSS. without meaning), and κατέψηκται χθονί, Gal. ξύει τὴν γῆν. Soph. ἀναζέουσι θρομβώδεις ἀφροί (and κέντρ' ἐπιζέσαντα in 840), Gal. μετὰ πομφολύγων ζέσιν. Soph. χυθέντος εἰς γῆν, Gal. τὴν γῆν εἰ κατ' αὐτῆς ἐκχυθείη.

Again Galen (vol. xvi, p. 661) writes: ὅταν τοίνυν κατὰ τῆς γῆς ὄξος ἐκχυθῇ δριμύ, πνευματούμενον αὐτίκα, συναναφέρει τινὰ τῆς γῆς αὐτῆς μόρια καὶ γίνεταί τι σύνθετον . . . . ὅμοιον δ' αὐτῷ συμβαίνει κἀπειδάν καὶ μέλαινα χολὴ κατὰ τῆς γῆς ἐκχυθῇ καὶ σαφῶς γε φαίνεται πνευματώδης τις κίνησις ἐπ' ἀμφοτέροις γινομένη παραπλησία τῇ κατὰ τὸ ζέον γλεῦκος.

And compare *Trach.* 1053: ἐκ μὲν ἐσχάτας βέβρωκε σάρκας with Galen vol. v, p. 111, where, again speaking of black bile, he says: οἷς ὁμιλήσειεν ἂν τοῦ σώματος μέρεσιν ἄκρατος, ἑλκοῖ πάντως αὐτὰ διαβιβρώσκουσα.

It is not likely that Galen was thinking of Sophocles. But he prefaces his remarks in the first passage quoted above by saying that he will explain οἷόν τι βούλονταί τε καὶ ἀποδεικνύουσι περὶ τὴν τῶν χυμῶν γένεσιν οἱ παλαιοὶ συμβαίνειν. So he may well have had in mind an ancient traditional manner of speaking on the subject, such as Sophocles too had in mind when he wrote

[1] See e.g. the intensely interesting article by M. Psichari, *Sophocle et Hippocrate*, in *Revue d Philologie*, tom. 32.

the *Trachiniae*. There is nothing so far as I can find in the Hippocratic writings to throw any light upon the matter, but Sophocles was certainly interested in such things; the description of the sufferings of Philoctetes has been warmly praised by medical men. Thucydides a few years later speaks of *ἀποκαθάρσεις χολῆς πᾶσαι ὅσαι ὑπὸ ἰατρῶν ὠνομασμέναι εἰσίν* (ii 49).

After much consultation, especially with Dr. Goadby and Prof. Collie, I conclude the scientific facts to be somewhat as follows. A strong acid when poured on the ground will unite with any alkali there may be in it, and produce an effervescence, if the soil be limestone as in Greece. The result will be a 'fizzing' and the formation of a friable substance, which might in some cases be well likened to sawdust, as by Sophocles. 'Black bile' seems to have included a variety of pathological phenomena, some acid, others not; of the former class would be for instance black vomit (see Hippocrates, vol. i, p. 519), and Galen repeatedly ascribes acidity to black bile in general, e.g. vol. xi, p. 675, *ἡ μέλαινα δ' ὀξεῖα*. But no such acid product as is discharged from any animal body, healthy or diseased, could produce the effects described. Some stronger acids would do so, in particular sulphuric, and sulphuric acid in some form was well known to the Egyptians and the Greeks. By *ὄξος* then Galen means not 'vinegar' but some mineral acid, probably sulphuric. By some amazing blunder, it seems, this was at some very early date confused with black bile, many mixtures of sulphuric acid and other substances being black, and Galen is simply repeating an old tradition, without having ever attempted to verify the facts. Indeed the impression one gets from Galen's treatise on black bile is that he had no clear idea what was meant by it, and no more has anybody else. But the tradition was there before Sophocles wrote the *Trachiniae*, and lasted on like others through centuries.

It is clear anyhow that the poet's language is thoroughly scientific, and that he does not here describe mere fanciful imaginings of his own. Like Dante and Göthe he is always master of everything he touches according to the lights of his time.

1196. *πολλὸν δ' ἄρσεν' ἐκτεμόνθ' ὁμοῦ*
ἄγριον ἔλαιον.

To explain what Sophocles means by the 'male olive' will take a deal of time, but I will cut it down as much as possible. (1) The ancients knew nothing definite about the sexes of plants, for the ascription to Empedocles of any anticipation of the modern doctrine is so light-hearted that I am really ashamed to mention it. But they did know that some palm-trees bear dates and others do not, and called the former female in consequence, the latter male; they knew too that it was advisable to have the male growing near the female if you wish to have dates, and even artificially fertilized the female. They also were in the habit of planting the caprifig near the sweet fig, as men do to this day. 'In Southern Europe the majority of the trees planted are such as have

female flowers only in their inflorescences, these yielding the best and juiciest figs. Fig-plants of the form known as *Caprificus*, which, besides male flowers, contain only gall-flowers in their inflorescences, are not cultivated, because most of their figs dry up and fall off prematurely. A few specimens of *Caprificus* are reared here and there in order that their inflorescences may be artificially transferred to the branches of the *Ficus*-trees. The process of transference is called *caprification*. . . . At the present day Fig-trees are no longer raised from seed but from cuttings, and caprification is consequently superfluous. Nevertheless the country people persevere with the old custom in spite of their ignorance of its real significance.' (Kerner and Oliver, *Nat. Hist. of Plants*, 1895, vol. ii, p. 162.)

Observe that people go on planting the caprifig along with the sweet fig though it is no sort of use. Compare Aristotle *de Gen. An.* I i 10: *καὶ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς φυτοῖς ὑπάρχει τὰ μὲν καρποφόρα δένδρα τοῦ αὐτοῦ γένους, τὰ δ' αὐτὰ μὲν οὐ φέρει καρπὸν συμβάλλεται δὲ τοῖς φέρουσι πρὸς τὸ πέττειν, οἷον συμβαίνει περὶ τὴν συκῆν* (sweet fig) *καὶ τὸν ἐρινεόν* (caprifig). In fact Aristotle thought that the caprifig was not really 'male' but yet acted somewhat like a male, in that its presence was somehow necessary for the sweet fig to ripen her fruit (which it is not).

(2) The olive as a matter of fact has neither male nor female plants separated from each other, nor yet anything corresponding to an extraordinary phenomena of the caprifig. Every flower of an olive, whether wild or cultivated, contains within itself both stamens and style. Yet the ancients, in their ignorance of the nature of plant-fertilization, had it seems got it into their heads that the domesticated olive was somehow female, because it bears large berries, and the wild a sort of male, because its berries are small and of no use to man. They exaggerated the deficiency of the wild olive; small and useless berries were as good as none at all; for all practical purposes the wild olive was no better than the male palm or the caprifig. Whether they went so far as to plant the wild alongside the tame olive, as the caprifig near the sweet fig, I do not know, but there is a passage in Aristotle which almost looks as if they did. *εἰσὶ δέ τινες*, he says (*de Gen. An.* III v 2), *οἵ φασι πάντας εἶναι τοὺς ἰχθῦς θήλεις ἔξω τῶν σελαχῶν, οὐκ ὀρθῶς λέγοντες. Οἴονται γὰρ διαφέρειν τῶν νομιζομένων ἀρρένων τοὺς θήλεις αὐτῶν ὥσπερ τῶν φυτῶν, ἐν ὅσοις τὸ μὲν καρποφορεῖ τὸ δ' ἄκαρπόν ἐστιν, οἷον ἐλάα καὶ κότινος καὶ συκῆ καὶ ἐρινεός.* These zoologists in fact thought that a herring with a hard roe was a true female, but that one with a soft roe was also really female though unproductive of eggs; such a fish *νομίζεται ἄρρην* but only as a figure of speech; so too the wild olive is considered to be male because it does not bear fruit, but is not really male. And Aristotle is not far from agreeing with them so far as plants go. Taking the two passages from *de Gen. An.* together we can perhaps infer that they did think it advisable to keep wild olives near the cultivated. Anyhow it is plain that in popular opinion the wild was regarded as male.

Palladius (*de Re Rustica*) xi 8 gives us another proof of this on different lines. 'Quod si fructus arbor laeta (the domesticated olive) non afferet, terebretur Gallica terebra usque ad medullam foramine impresso, cui oleastri informis talea uehementer artetur, et ablaqueatae arbori amurca uel uetus urina fundatur. Hoc enim *uelut coitu* steriles arbores uberantur.' And this is what he means by the couplet xiv. 53:

Fecundat sterilis pingues oleaster oliuas,
Et quae non nouit munera ferre docet.

So did the popular notion that the oleaster was sterile and masculine continue to hold its own, in spite of the fact that Theophrastus knew better. *Hist. Plant.* I vi: *πλείω μὲν γὰρ δοκεῖ τὰ ἄγρια φέρειν ὥσπερ ἀχράς, κότινος, καλλίω δὲ τὰ ἥμερα.* Yet Theophrastus too uses 'male' and 'female' absurdly; 'species robustior, et quae tarde fructificat, *ἄρρην* vocatur, et contra *θήλεια*. Sexualis vero distinctio occurrit in *φοίνικι*, et alibi, ii 8', says Stackhouse, *Glossarium Theophrasti* s.v. *Ἄρρην*.

(3) Sophocles therefore was adopting this superstition, when he made Heracles demand the 'male and wild olive' for his funeral pyre. The epithets suit the fierce hero to whom the plant was sacred, and whom the most feminine and loveliest of the poet's heroines innocently slew.

ARTHUR PLATT.

CICERO'S *POST REDITVM* AND OTHER SPEECHES.

THE last volume of Cicero's Orations, as published in the Oxford *Bibliotheca Scriptorum Classicorum*, was lately entrusted to me, and will be published in the course of the present year. Meanwhile I desire to record in this paper some of the more important results of my study of the MSS., and, following on this, to indicate several places where our current texts seem to be susceptible of correction and improvement.

The basal codex is for these speeches the well-known ninth-century Par. 7,794 (P), a folio of which is reproduced in Chatelain's *Paléographie*, Pl. xxiii. This MS. contains the following orations in chronological order: (1) *pridie quam in Exilium*, (2) *in Senatu*, (3) *ad Quirites*, (4) *de Domo*, (5) *pro Sestio*, (6) *in Vatinium*, (7) *de Prouinciis Consularibus*, (8) *de Harusp. Respons.*, (9) *pro Balbo*, (10) *pro Caelio*. It is noteworthy that this order is followed by other MSS. of the same family. The object of this paper is to draw special attention to two of these in their relation to P—viz. the twelfth-century *Bernensis* 136 (B) and the fifteenth-century Par. 14,749, which Mr. A. C. Clark has called Σ. Alongside of Σ the Wolfenbüttel codex 205 (W) is no longer worthy of notice: Mr. Clark has shown that it is derived from Σ (*Anecd. Oxon.* X p. xii). The same is true of Par. 6,369 and Par. 7,777. Σ is the parent of them all, and it seems to have been written in the first decade of the fifteenth century.

The criticism of the Post Reditum speeches was hampered for a time by Halm's view (after Madvig) that the second hand in P was that of an interpolator. On the contrary, P^2 represents, as was first shown by Hertz, a genuine tradition, without which the text would be less complete and correct than we have it to-day.[1] In this connexion I need only cite passages where P^2 has restored omissions accidentally made by the writer of P owing to the occurrence of like-endings: *ad Quir.* § 6 '*tum Metelli* (aut Metellarum liberi pro Q. Metelli) *reditu*': *in Vatin.* § 36 '*quae numquam* (sibi pop. Rom. appetiuit, qui numquam) *ad se*,' etc.: Sest. § 93 '*causam rei publicae* (amplectatur . . . duo illa rei publicae) *paene fata*,' 107 *neque* (sententiam eius auctori-

[1] Halm failed to notice, for example, that it seems to be the same hand that supplied the lacuna in P at *pro Balbo* § 9 which continues the writing of the text at § 14. This establishes the genuineness of the words rejected by Halm in the earlier section.

tate) *neque*. The indispensable words in brackets have been in each of the above instances supplied by the second hand in P(P^2).

Halm divined rather than proved (*Rhein. Mus.* IX p. 321) that the *Bernensis* (B) was a copy of P.[1] Certainly there are very few discrepancies of any importance (for example, *suffragium ferente* B *in Sen.* § 24 for *rente* P is probably a conjecture of the copyist of the *Bernensis*). I mention here an additional proof of direct copying which attracted my attention when I had the opportunity last summer of examining the two codices side by side. A system of punctuation was introduced into P by a later hand, of which the copyist of B takes full advantage, especially in the way of breaking up his text into sentences by the use of capital letters. As P^2 is a twelfth-century hand, and as the best authorities now ascribe B to the end of the twelfth or the beginning of the thirteenth century, I think it is a fair inference that the corrections supplied by P^2, as well as the 'guide to punctuation' already referred to, were made in the Paris MS. before B was copied from P: they may, in fact, have been made for the purposes of the copyist.[2]

The accepted view that B is copied from P becomes of all the more importance now, as it enables us to establish, as it were, an apostolic succession in the case of three manuscripts, separated from each other by intervals of three centuries. The third in the series is Mr. Clark's Σ (Par. Lat. 14,749). In the account of this codex, given in his volume on the *Vetus Cluniacensis* of Poggio (*Anecd. Oxon., Classical Series*, Part X), Mr. Clark inclined to think that, in the Post Reditum speeches, Σ was copied directly from P. This is very near the truth, and for practical purposes would be quite sufficient; but as the result of a recent discovery I am able to affirm that Σ was transcribed, so far as concerns the speeches now under consideration, not from P directly, but from P's copy, the *Bernensis*.

It was the courtesy of the librarian at Bern (Professor van Mulinen) that gave me the opportunity last summer of examining B side by side with the Paris MSS. in the Bibliothèque Nationale.[3] Knowing something of the difficulty of establishing proof of direct copying, I should have hesitated to make any positive statement about the relation of Σ to B, had it not been for the emergence of a curious phenomenon which I propose now to put on record.

In turning over the pages of Σ I happened to notice particularly the passage *Harusp. Resp.* § 5 'non me magis uiolauit quam senatum, quam equites Romanos quam omnes bonos.' This passage occurs on the verso of fol. 91, and my attention was attracted by a short line drawn in the text after the words *uiolauit* and *Romanos*. When I turned to B for some possible explanation

[1] For instance, *de Domo* § 67 for *Quas iste tum* P has *Quas is tetum*, which B makes into *quas is tecum*. But this is not in itself a proof of direct copying.

[2] The mark of punctuation supplied in P may be seen in the Chatelain facsimile, e.g. before the words *Sed uestrae sapientiae* and *Ex hac copia* in *pro Caelio* § 24; it occurs also in the addition made by P^2 at the end of § 23 in the speech *ad Quirites*, before the words *gratiam et qui rettulit*.

[3] The *Bernensis* formerly belonged to Bongarsius, in whose handwriting, at the foot of fol. 97b, this note occurs: *huc reg. liber chartaceus in or. de domo sua.*

I found it—in the shape of a grease-spot! The fourth and fifth lines of fol. 131 in B may be exhibited as under:

magis uiolauit		quam senatum quam
equites romanos		quam omnes bonos quam

An oblong greasy mark caused the copyist to skip a certain portion of the parchment for fear his ink should run. The danger would possibly not be so great now, after 700 years, and even in the fifteenth century it may have been less obvious than it was to the writer in the twelfth. But the point is that the faithful copyist of Σ, to indicate that there is a blank in his original, draws two short lines where the blank occurs. This is indubitable proof of direct copying, for no scribe would have troubled to reproduce two meaningless lines, and these lines will not be found in the other Paris MSS. which are now known to have been derived from Σ—such as Par. 6,369 and Par. 7,777.[1]

After the above it is of minor importance to chronicle the fact that there are identical marginalia in the two MSS. For example, at *Sest.* § 12 each reproduces the tradition of P, 'sed hoc breve dii cassi m. petrei.' But in the margin each gives the right reading, introduced by the formula 'puto sic' (sed hoc breue dicam: si M. Petrei).

For the constitution of the text of the speeches under consideration, now that the importance of the second hand in P is thoroughly appreciated, that MS. would in itself well-nigh suffice. Of other codd., perhaps the most interesting is the twelfth-century *Gemblacensis* (G), nunc *Bruxellensis* 5345. This manuscript was collated by Baiter, and has been much used by editors, but perhaps not fully understood. For the *de Domo*, a very full account of it has recently been given by D. Serruys (*Revue Belge*, 1900, p. 387), who thinks it represents a quite different tradition from P. To me it seems more probable that G (or its archetype) was copied from a MS. very close to P, but which contained various readings. This is undoubtedly the explanation of *de Dom.* § 47 'Legum scriptor] legum scripturae uel scriptor' G: ibid. § 61 'nec omnium hostium] nec communium hostium uel omnium' G: cp. *in Sen.* § 14 'cum stipe uel aethiope': *Sest.* § 29 'cum fratre mihi uel compare cum patre': *Vat.* § 3 'qui et uel quia.'

Another feature about G that seems specially worthy of notice is the large number of passages where the scribe has changed the order of words. As this connects with the study of what I have elsewhere called 'transposition variants' (*Am. J. Phil.* XXVIII, p. 125 sqq.), it may be worth while to enumerate the places here. They make it certain that Mueller has done wrong to accept e.g.

[1] Compare *de Prou. Cons.* § 19, where the writer of P has made a useless repetition of the text: 'bellum adfectum uidemus et uere ut dicam paene confectum uidemus et uere ut dicam paene confectum sed ita ut.' Instead of deleting the superfluous words, as he does in similar cases elsewhere, P^2 has written in the letters *ta* above the latter part of the word *confectum*. (The alternative reading meant to be suggested may have been *conflatum*.) B reproduces exactly, except that it gives *confectatum*. Σ, on the other hand, saw that there was something wrong, and after copying as far as *confectatum*, relegated the rest (*uidemus . . . confectum*) to the margin.

the variant *se dicat* at *de Domo* § 105 on the authority of GVM instead of *dicat se*. To facilitate reference I shall cite the pages of Mueller's edition, giving only, in order to save space, the reading of G, which will be found in every case to be an inversion of the order in the received text, as vouched for by PBΣ et rell.

post reditum in Senatu :

§ 2 (p. 430, 9) est et infinitum : § 3 (p. 430, 28) potestas decernendi : § 4 (p. 431, 13 *and* 15) salutem meam *and* uirtute et praestantissima : § 9 (p. 433, 3) in me conseruando fuerit : § 22 (p. 438, 23 *and* 31) sibi cara mea *and* tota mea : § 31 *and* § 32 (p. 442, 19 *and* 31) mutata ueste *and* desereret non modo.

post red. ad Quirites :

§ 3 (p. 447, 28) magis quam fruendo intellexi : § 12 (p. 451, 5) res confecta : § 16 (p. 453, 5) uos primum.

de Domo :

§ 3 (p. 458, 26) habiturum esse : § 9 (p. 461, 9) sit allata : § 10 (p. 461, 18) quid reprehendatur quoniam princeps ego, etc. : § 36 (p. 471, 10) iure pontificio : § 40 (p. 472, 24) breuiter nunc : § 41 (p. 473, 5) diei sexta : § 42 (p. 473, 21 *and* 23) agere iure *and* esse rem pub. : § 54 (p. 478, 1) prudentiam modestiamque : § 64 (p. 481, 12) cum summa : § 66 (p. 482, 1) ciuitatis esse : § 68 (p. 482, 28 *and* 31) sibi dicere *and* esse nulla : § 72 (p. 484, 9) si est etiam : § 75 (p. 485, 13) sibi redditam : § 79 (486, 34) tum etiam : § 88 (p. 490, 7) tale mihi : § 100 (p. 494, 7) causa mea : § 105 (p. 496, 21) polluit caerimonias : § 110 (p. 498, 6) beneficiis populi : § 112 (p. 498, 36) audeat uiolare quisquam : § 118 (p. 501, 5) putanda est : § 121 (p. 502, 6) aditus templi : § 121 (p. 502, 9) tibi dicere : § 122 (p. 502, 15) defenderem iure : § 127 (p. 503, 36) inquit magnam : § 131 (p. 505, 28 *and* 31) illa res *and* in curia uolebat : § 134 (p. 507, 9) manu tetigit tremebunda : § 138 (508, 30) iure pontificum : § 141 (p. 510, 6) me seque : § 143 (p. 510, 27 *and* 32) esse numine *and* sceleratissimis suis : § 144 (p. 511, 12) illum ignem : § 145 (p. 511, 23) de salute nihil nisi ciuium meorum : § 146 (p. 511, 35) eum quaeso.

de Harusp. Resp. :

§ 7 (p. 517, 3) a praetore tertius : § 26 (p. 525, 16) mentionem generis sui : § 47 (p. 534, 27) in me uno : § 51 (p. 536, 28) gratiae esse : § 53 (p. 537, 10) sunt res : § 55 (p. 537, 34) hominum animis : § 57 (p. 539, 3) non inesset in hoc : § 63 (p. 541, 14) sono aliquid.

pro Sestio :

§ 5 (p. 3, 33) uideatur esse : § 17 (p. 8, 23) appellem nomine : § 20 (p. 9, 35) intueri impendentem : § 23 (p. 10, 31) et conferta plena : § 25 (p. 11, 22) nominatim consulum : § 27 (p. 12, 29) facta uestis : § 31 (p. 14, 19) sui tribunatus uim : § 32 (p. 14, 27) decreuisset de mea salute : § 33 (p. 15, 8) tute tibi : § 35 (p. 16, 12) malis tantis : § 35 (p. 16, 15) die hodierno : § 39 (p. 17, 35) erant omnes : § 40 (p. 18, 21) suaque—loquebantur *transposed before* tribunum—nolebant : § 41 (p. 18, 26 *and* 35) causae susceptae *and* ignari homines : § 44 (p. 19, 32) altera eius modi illa : § 45 (p. 20, 16) me potius ipse : § 46 (p. 20, 22 *and* 27) unus deditus essem *and* suum aliquem : § 55 (p. 25, 10) adprobantibus etiam : § 58 (p. 26, 17) illum magnum : § 59 (p. 27, 2 *and* 4) semper socius, semper amicus *and* nostros allata : § 62 (p. 28, 12) dicere mihi : § 63 (p. 28, 26) in p. r. : § 64 (p. 28, 35) liberas ciuitates : § 72 (p. 32, 6) p. r. ; § 76 (p. 33, 35) fortissimum que mei : § 78 (p. 34, 31 *and* 37) ferri de me *and* p. r. : § 82 (p. 36, 17) illi ipsi : § 88 (p. 39, 22) re se : § 91 (p. 40, 24) appellamus publicas : § 96 (p. 42, 27) esse uolebant : § 104 (p. 46, 8) audire uelle : § 110 (p. 48, 19 *and* 21) non ille *and* bonum et fortem : § 112 (p. 49, 5) illis furias : § 122 (p. 53, 15) dici posse : § 129 (p. 56, 22) ex municipiis qui : § 144 (p. 63, 26) fratris mei :

On the other hand, it may be recorded here that at § 67 (p. 30, 4) I find the reading 'gentes qui feras' (hitherto attributed to G) also in PBΣ.

in Vatinium:

§ 4 (p. 66, 30) esse fas: § 10 (p. 69, 9) bonis horum: § 18 (72, 7) non duobus: § 21 (p. 73, 6) de re pub. bene: § 30 (p. 76, 33) cum summis uiris commune: § 33 (p. 77, 24) illud etiam: § 34 (p. 78, 22) uelles utrum: § 37 (p. 79, 22) legem esse: § 41 (p. 81, 8) uterque reus.

de Prov. Cons.

§ 1 (p. 115, 4) hoc quod: § 15 (p. 120, 27 *and* 31) hoc sane *and* Gabini audacia: § 18 (p. 121, 18) uir optimus me: § 30 (p. 125, 34) alia omnia: § 32 (p. 126, 24) liberata metu: § 33 (p. 126, 31) domuit compulit: § 41 (p. 130, 6 *and* 24) iudicium gratum mihi *and* generum suum: § 43 (p. 131, 16) tempus tristissimum.

pro Balbo:

§ 4 (p. 136, 2) ex uoluptatis: § 19 (p. 141, 14) potius (totius) causae: § 20 (p. 141, 32 *and* 34) fuit in ea *and* populi socii: § 24 (p. 143, 9) donatos esse: § 28 (p. 144, 28) homine libertino: § 33 (p. 146, 32) nihil esse: § 37 (p. 148, 24) uelit esse saluam: § 51 (p. 151, 36) non re: § 58 (p. 156, 34) malis nostris: § 65 (p. 159, 22) fixum iudices.

Such inversions as the above constitute a serious impeachment of the fides of G. Whether they are to be credited to the writer of G or to some previous copyist, they seem to confirm the view that the systematic adoption of such 'transposition variants' originated in a writer's desire to give some individuality to his work. In some cases the change may have been motived by considerations of rhythm. In others the remarkable feature is that the inversion produces nonsense.

The following are passages taken from the *de Domo* alone in which the reading of G differentiates that MS. from P, and is generally found repeated in later codd. of the same group (notably M and V):

§ 7 (p. 460, 8 *and* 13) tela illa (*for* te iam illinc) *and* res illa: § 16 (463, 37) in ea re ratio: § 22 (p. 465, 34) ut praetor (*for* uteretur): § 40 (p. 472, 51) a. D. oppio: § 44 (p. 474, 15) inuidiosorum: § 81 (p. 487, 26) ornatissimis: § 86 (p. 489, 11) incitatum iracundiamque; § 88 (p. 490, 7) profectionem notam esse tamen is qui: § 101 (p. 494, 21) *om.* adsensu: § 121 (p. 502, 7) nemo uit qua tenuit *for* nemo umquam tenuit: § 126 (p. 503, 35) tota est effecisti: § 127 (p. 504, 11) quẽ te unius u plebis (*for* quae uetet iniussu pl.): § 131 (p. 506, 25) *om.* ordines omnes: § 139 (p. 509, 2) cum meus:

More valuable than any codex of the G group I have found the second *Bernensis* (254), which I call f. This MS. formerly belonged to Notre Dame, to which it was presented by Jean Courtecuisse, Chancellor of the University of Paris in 1418, and Bishop of Paris in 1420. I shall only say of it here that it shows a strong agreement with the *codex Stephani*, and that I have found in it anticipations of valuable emendations by later scholars (e.g. *de Dom.* § 16 *in ea re necne ratio*, a correction hitherto attributed to Garatoni, and *ibid.* § 120 *pontifex et tribunus*, as was conjectured by Baiter).

I now proceed to append some notes on controverted passages:

In Sen. § 12 fecitque, quod nemo umquam tyrannus, ut quo minus occulte

uestrum malum gemeretis nihil diceret, ne aperte incommoda patriae lugeretis ediceret.

On the absence or insertion of a comma after *fecitque* must depend our interpretation of the syntax of the above. Is *quod* a direct accusative after *fecit* (=*id quod*), or is it in apposition with the rest of the sentence? This interesting point will be discussed in connexion with a parallel passage, *Vat.* § 1: it is referred to here only to illustrate the importance of the punctuation of our Latin texts. Mueller obelizes *nihil diceret*, whereas Madvig rejected all the words that follow, which are omitted in P and supplied by P^2. The grammar and rhythm of the text might perhaps be improved by reading *nihil diceret* (*impedire*) *ne aperte . . . ediceret.* But there is something crude in the antithesis *occulte—aperte*, and *gemeretis—lugeretis*, to say nothing of *diceret, ediceret.* On the whole, it seems not unlikely that the words *quo minus—nihil diceret* should go out.[1] They have the look of an adscript supplied by someone who remembered the passage *in Pis.* § 18 'maerorem relinquis: maeroris aufers insignia.' Cp. *Sest.* XIV.

ad Quir. § 1 ut quod odium . . . iam diu continerent, id in me uno potius quam in optimo quoque et uniuersa ciuitate † deficeret.

Here Hotoman suggested *defigerent*, which might stand. But what is wanted is some word with the idea of *saturarent;* and remembering how the codd. sometimes interchange *de* and *ex*, I am inclined to think that *deficeret* may have taken the place of *expleretur.*

ibid. § 19 for *ideo manet* read *id adeo manet.* This emendation has suggested itself also to Dr. K. Busche, of Leer, Ostfriesland, who has kindly placed at my disposal some critical notes on the Post Reditum speeches, of which I hope to avail myself for the purposes of my forthcoming edition. At the end of § 20 he suggests *ego qua consueui utar* (*aequitate*); I propose *oratione* as more suitable to the context.

ibid. § 23 Postremo qui in ulciscendo remissior fuit † in eorum aperte utitur.

Conjectures here are numerous. Perhaps *in eo consilium aperte laudatur* would give a suitable antithesis to what follows—*at grauissime uituperatur qui*, etc.

de Domo § 21.

In the very difficult passage occurring in this section, it should be pointed out that the pluperfects *produxeras—subduxeras* are not in line with those which follow, *obieceras—dixeras.* The latter—not the former—are naturally taken up by the closing interrogation *ad hunc honorem . . . detulisti?* Possibly there has been an omission ex homoeoteleuto, and the original text may have run somehow as follows:

'Atque in hoc solum inconstantiam redarguo tuam qui in ipso Catone (uirum elegeris cuius in tali re firmitas et fides omnibus possent probari. Sed quid tibi cum Catone).'

[1] The construction is not really improved by Lehmann's *nihil diceret <esse quod obstaret>*: it must have been intended to follow the lines of the more usual *qua re hoc ita sit, nihil dico* (*Dom.* § 84; *Mil.* § 30).

ibid. § 62 Mueller here prints the reading of P, without emendation: † *senatus consules uocabant.* From this it is easy to pass, with recent editors, to *senatum consules uocabant* (e.g. *Sest.* § 41). But this does not help the sense of the passage. Cicero is here speaking of Piso and Gabinius, and he means to be contemptuous, as usual. Read *scilicet consules uocabant*, or *scil. eos consules* (*cos.*) *uocabant.* He wishes to imply that they did not deserve the name of consuls. Cp. *Vat.* § 18 'duobus non consulibus sed proditoribus huius ciuitatis ac pestibus': *Pis.* §§ 23, 24 'tum Romae fuisse consules quisquam existimabit? Qui latrones igitur si quidem uos consules . . . nominabuntur?'

ibid. § 68 ui, armis discriptione hominum ad caedem instituta nouoque dominatu pulsum esse dixit.

This is Mueller's reading, but it cannot stand. The codd. have *dissensione*, and also, instead of *ad*, *aut* P^1 and *et* P^2 rell. Why not *dissensione hominum et caede instituta?*

ibid. § 80 ea iura sanxerunt quae nec uis temporum nec potentia magistratuum nec † res tum iudicata nec denique uniuersi populi Romani potestas . . . labefactare possit.

For *res tum iudicata* Madvig suggested *rerum iudicatarum auctoritas*, and this has been adopted by Mueller. A simpler interpretation of the corruption of the MSS. would be *praetorum decreta.* For the confusion of *iudicium* and *decretum* (probably due to like contractions) cp. Balb. § 11.

§ 107 nec est ulla erga deos pietas sine honesta de numine eorum ac mente opinione, ut expeti nihil ab iis, quod sit iniustum ahque inhonestum, fas esse arbitrere.

I give this interesting passage as it appears in Mueller's text: the words *fas esse* are supplied by him, the codd. giving *cum expeti . . . inhonestum arbitrare.* Accepting *ut . . . arbitrere*, it would be simpler to suppose that the words *iustum aut honestum* (instead of *fas esse*) have fallen out after *iniustum atque inhonestum.* In the earlier part of the sentence *sine—opinione* comes from Halm: most MSS. give *si—opinio.* But in place of *si* I find *nisi* in f (*Bern.* 254), which suggests that the true reading may be *nisi sit honesta—opinio.*

pro Sestio. (Cp. *Class. Quart.* III p. 266 sqq.)

§ 72 quem homines in luctu inridentes Gracchum uocabant, quoniam id etiam fatum ciuitatis fuit ut illa ex uepreculis extracta nitedula rem publicam conaretur adrodere.

The point of the joke seems to be contained in the name *Gracchum*, but it has not been satisfactorily explained. As the reference obviously is to 'gnawing' or 'nibbling,' perhaps we ought to read *Grr. . . . acchum.*

ibid. § 89 Et uinci turpe putauit et deterreri et latere: perfecit ut, etc.

Here Mueller follows Madvig. After *deterreri* P^1 and G give the unintelligible *etiam eripere eicit* (*elegit G*) *ut:* while P^2 and the rest have *etiam eripi reeicit ut.* There are numerous emendations to which I may be allowed to add *et clam eripi: id egit ut*, etc.

in Vat. § 1 Si tua tantum modo, Vatini, quid indignitas postularet

spectare uoluissem, fecissem id quod his uehementer placebat, ut te . . . tacitus dimitterem.

Here, to begin with, *tua* must go out: it is not found in any MS. Cp. *Sest.* § 60 *ignari quid grauitas—ualeret.* Next there seems to be an important point about the *facere ut* construction. Either the clause *id quod—placebat* is parenthetical (cp. *in Sen.* § 12), and we have here the usual periphrasis *fecissem ut dimitterem* used for greater emphasis instead of *dimisissem*, or *id quod*, etc., is the direct object of *fecissem*, the clause *ut . . . dimitterem* coming in afterwards epexegetically. I prefer the latter explanation, and insert no comma after *fecissem*, as would be necessary on the other alternative. In support of this view, I refer to the following passages:

Phil. III § 35 quod gladiatores nobiles faciunt, ut honeste decumbant, faciamus nos . . . ut cum dignitate potius cadamus quam cum ignominia seruiamus. *Vatin.* § 21 quod inuitus facio, ut recorder ruinas rei publicae. *Rosc.* § 151 Solent hoc boni imperatores facere . . . ut . . . collocent. *Verr.* II § 115 Faciunt hoc homines . . . ut uelint. *Planc.* § 72 At id . . . faciunt inuiti, ut coronam dent. *Cluent.* § 153 non fecerunt idem quod nunc Cluentius ut . . . putarent.

The above seem to be somewhat different from the equally common periphrastic construction of *facere ut*, e.g. *De Am.* § 12 Inuitus feci ut L. Flaminium e senatu eicerem: *ad Fam.* I § 7 Facio libenter ut per litteras tecum colloquar: *Verr.* II § 10 Fecerunt etiam ut me . . . prope de uitae meae statu dolore ac lacrimis suis deducerent: *Cluent.* § 111 Facite enim ut . . . recordemini: *Vatin.* § 30 qua mente feceris ut . . . accumberes.

An exactly parallel passage is *Verr.* I § 73, where the text should be shown 'fecit id quod multi reprehenderunt, ut exercitum, prouinciam, bellum relinqueret,' rather than 'fecit-id quod multi reprehenderunt-ut,' etc. Cp. *Verr.* I § 104 'quod eum natura hortabatur lex nulla prohibebat fecit ut filiam bonis suis heredem institueret': *Cluent.* § 168 'quoniam quod fuit uiri optimi fecisti ut ne cui,' etc.

The problem may be stated also in connexion with *Sest.* § 92 Hoc uident omnes: Milo et uidit et fecit, ut ius experiretur, uim depelleret.

Here *hoc* must be supplied with *fecit*, and so the *ut* clause becomes epexegetic: otherwise *fecit ut experiretur* would = *expertus est.*

§ 7 Quare peto a te ut mihi ignoscas Vatini, cum ei patriae peperci quam seruaueram, et . . . feras.

Here for *cum ei* in the received text (*cum et* Schol.), P et rell. give *et cum*, which ought probably to have been *ei cum*. All codd. (except the Schol.) have *pepercerim.* Why not read *ei cum—pepercerim?* Madvig's *quod* for *cum* is not necessary, though the two are often interchanged: we find in Cicero *ignoscere si* (*Pis.* § 79) as well as *ignoscere quod* (*Phil.* II § 34).

ibid. § 9 Quid quisque nostrum de se ipse loquatur, non est sane requirendum: boni uiri iudicent, id est maximi momenti et ponderis.

Here the codd. give *iudicent*, for which Jordan conjectured *quid iudicent:*

cf. *homines quid sentiant*, below. An even simpler emendation, and more suitable to *de se ipse loquatur*, would be to write *boni uiri quid dicant.*

§ 12 post quaesturam exierisne legatus in ulteriorem Hispaniam C. Cosconio pro consule ?

Though recent practice is against me, I see no reason why we should not read *proconsuli* here (*procos.* PB) instead of *pro consule.* It is generally believed that *proconsul* is a later form. But if the word had a plural ('bella a proconsulibus administrantur,' *Diu.* II § 76), why should it not have had a singular as well? ('res a propraetore gesta,' *Prou. Cons.* § 15). So I should print *Pompeio proconsuli* (not *pro consule*) *contubernalis, Cael.* § 63, and *post Brutum proconsulem, Phil.* II § 97. Cp. *Verr.* II, I, § 34 'Quaestor Cn. Papirio consuli fuisti.'

§ 16 te aediliciam praetextam togam, quam frustra confeceras, uendidisse!

Instead of violently transposing these words, with Schuetz and Zielinski, to the end of the following sentence, I propose to take them as an exclamatory parenthesis (perhaps *tene—uendidisse : Cluent.* § 84). Of the three tribunes here referred to, Cicero says, two became praetors and one got the consulship: and to think that you, Vatinius, sold the aedile's robe you had prematurely ordered!

§ 19 et ex desiderio clarissimi ciuis et ex honore turpissimi atque improbissimi.

It seems safer here to follow P et rell., which give *clarissimi*, instead of GHES, which have *clarissimi et fortissimi* (the *Frisingensis* collated by Halm is reported to have *fort. et clar.*). No doubt 'parablepsia' frequently occurs in regard to such superlatives (see my note on *Verr.* III § 52), and this is why I propose to accept Dr. Busche's emendation *grauissimis* <ac plenissimis> *dignitatis uiris, Sest.* § 6. But the fides of the G family is doubtful, both here and at § 26, where P et rell. have *impurissime*, while G gives *imp. et perditissime.* The collocation of *clarissimus* and *fortissimus* is of course very common: *Verr. Act. Pr.* § 44, cf. *Balb.* § 49, where it is G that omits *et clarissime* against P.

de Prou. Consularibus.

§ 5 ut, quod est indignissimum, scelus imperatoris in poenam exercitus † expetitum esse uideatur.

Here *expiatum* has been adopted by Mueller, but would seem to call for *in exercitum* instead of *in poenam exercitus :* cf. *Pis.* § 85 'tua scelera di immortales in nostros milites expiauerunt.' I suspect *in poenam*, and would propose to read *in patriam exercitumque expiatum.*

ibid. § 29 At ego idem nunc in prouinciis decernendis . . . interpellor, cum in superioribus causis hominis ornamenta fuerint, in hac me nihil nisi ratio belli, nisi summa utilitas rei publicae moueat.

Incidentally it may be remarked that a mistake once made is apt to perpetuate itself: it is not the *in* before *prouinciis* that is missing from the

MSS. and was supplied by Lambinus, as Mueller asserts (following Baiter), but the *in* after *cum*.

For *fuerint* Dr. K. Busche has suggested *iuuerim*, in place of which I should prefer to see *fouerim*. But a simpler explanation of the corruption is suggested by a comparison of *Balb.* § 19 'ut . . . hominis ipsius ornamenta adiumento causae potius quam impedimento esse malitis.' The similar word *adiumento* has fallen out of our text after *ornamenta:* read therefore *cum . . . hominis ornamenta* adiumento *fuerint*.

ibid. § 36 Quo mihi nihil uidetur alienius . . . quam ut, etc.

Quo here comes from Manutius. There is nothing to correspond to it in P^1, while P^2 et rell. supply *Quae*. Lambinus read *Atqui*. I suggest *Quanquam*.

pro Balb. § 3 ut mihi iam uerum uideatur illud esse . . . ei qui omnis animo uirtutes penitus comprehendisset omnia quae faceret † tractare.

The allusion is to the Stoic doctrine φασὶ δὲ καὶ πάντα ποιεῖν τὸν σοφὸν κατὰ πάσας τὰς ἀρετάς, Stobaeus *Ecl.* II p. 116: λέγουσι δὲ καὶ πάντ' εὖ ποιεῖν τὸν σοφὸν ἃ ποιεῖ, id. *Eth.* 169. If there were any doubt about *ei qui*, we might write *eum qui . . . omnia quae faceret facere recte.* But with *ei* we need, in place of the corrupt *tractare*, something like *recte stare* (κατόρθωμα) or *praeclare euadere*. Perhaps *omnia quae faceret recte procedere* (cf. *Rab. Post.* § 1 'cui bene quid processerit').

ibid. § 11 nos Cn. Pompei decretum (iudicium) de consilii sententia pronuntiatum recognoscemus.

Unless *iudicium* is to be entirely deleted, as an alternation needlessly suggested (cp. de Domo § 68) we may easily emend by reading *iudices*.

ibid. § 14 quasi uero leuius sit . . . facere aliquid quod scias non licere quam omnino non scire quid liceat.

This passage must be studied in its context. It is not really improved by reading *non leuius*, as the editors do, following Lambinus: or alternatively *peius*, *nequius*, or *turpius* instead of *leuius*. If this were the meaning, it would be simpler to invert the clauses, and read *quasi uero leuius sit . . . omnino non scire quid liceat quam facere aliquid quod scias non licere.* But this would be to mistake the argument. Pompeius is charged with having acted illegally, and the question is whether he did what he did *sciens* or *insciens*. In § 13 the former alternative is dismissed as incredible. In § 14 the accusator says, 'Very well then: let us say *insciens*'; to which Cicero makes reply in the clause beginning with *quasi uero*—words which seem to imply that the adversary's change of front is founded on a miscalculation. 'Ah!' says the orator, 'that is a mistake: you should have stuck to *sciens:* just as though it were less heinous to do an illegal act knowingly than not to know what is legal! Why, it is more heinous! You won't make it worse for Pompeius by saying *insciens*.' Madvig, Baiter, and others have failed, as it seems to me, to see the point of the dilemma which Cicero is putting. The *accusator* is looking for the heaviest charge, and ought not to grasp at the suggested alternative *insciens*. The one

horn of the dilemma has been shown to be untenable, but the adversary is not to be allowed to have the other!

ibid. § 15 Temporum magis ego nunc uitiis quam genere iudicii plura dicam.

I doubt if this can stand, and suggest that *inductus*, or *adductus*, may have fallen out after *iudicii*.

ibid. § 19 qua lege uidemus † satis esse sancti ut ciues Romani sint ii quos Cn. Pompeius . . . ciuitate donauerit.

For *satis esse sancti* Reid proposed *ita esse sanctum*, which might, I think, be improved into *rite esse sanctum* (*Har. Resp.* § 32). Pantagathus suggested *sanxisse senatum*, while others would read *satis aperte* (or *dilucide*) *esse sanctum*.

ibid. 25 Hanc tu igitur . . . condicionem statuis Gaditanis tuis ciuibus, ut quod iis quos magnis † adiutoribus tuis armis subegimus . . . liceat . . . id ne liceat ipsis.

This passage has created great difficulty, and conjectures are numerous: *magnis adiuti opibus a maioribus tuis*, Madvig; *Magni armis adiutoribus tuis*, Reid. But it seems to admit an easy remedy. All we have to do is to suppose that after *adiutoribus tuis* the word *usi* has fallen out: cf. § 26 'nihil enim magis uteremur iis adiutoribus,' and § 38 'si aut adiutoribus illorum ciuibus uti in bellis nobis non liceret.'

Perhaps even better *quos magnis adiutoribus tuis usi ciuibus armis subegimus*.

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April, 1910.

EVIDENCE OF GREEK RELIGION ON THE TEXT AND INTERPRETATION OF ATTIC TRAGEDY.

THE object of this paper is partly to plead a cause, partly to proclaim a grievance. The last domain of ancient Greek life to attract the serious attention and study of modern scholars has been that of Greek Religion; and the exposition of it has revealed its many vital points of contact with the moral and spiritual energy and the artistic and poetic monuments of the ancient Hellenic race. An enthusiastic votary of this study might venture to hope that some general acquaintance with its facts and ideas would henceforth be recognized as belonging to the general curriculum of Hellenic culture. But any one merely interested in the good workmanship of the classical commentary ought at least to insist that something more than a general acquaintance with this subject should be regarded by those who set themselves to edit certain portions of the Greek classics as an essential preliminary and as a necessary part of their scholarly equipment. The authors to whom this rule specially applies are Hesiod, Pindar and the Attic Dramatists. A satisfying commentary on Hesiod is still a desideratum; and for such an achievement a long apprenticeship in anthropology and religious studies would be a necessity. And such a training is hardly less necessary for the interpretation, both textual and general, of Pindar and the Tragedians. Yet it is surely a grievance of which the general scholarly public may complain that the usual commentator of the Greek play never comes near to fulfilling this condition. Some, like Blass in his recent commentary on the *Choephoroi*, ignore the obvious duty altogether. Others dabble amateurishly in the subject, and having never worked at the real material of the popular religion, so as to acquire some critical perception of what was possible for the popular religious thought or religious phraseology, enliven their commentary with the flourishes of eccentric theorizing or of uncritical and often exploded dogma. This censure applies to foreign as to English commentators and to many, I fear, whose names are deservedly famous in the world of scholarship.

If one were anxious to justify this general verdict by the most flagrant example, one would cite the criticism delivered by many generations of scholars on the passage in Aesch. *Ag.* 69–70, concerning the reading and interpretation of which I published a paper in the *Classical Review* of 1897.

The most elementary knowledge of Greek ritual would have saved us from the various absurdities perpetrated by way of commentary on that text. This defect in the commentator's equipment is responsible not merely for the misunderstanding of isolated passages but at times for the misinterpretation of leading characters or leading motives of the play. I may be allowed to cite at least one salient instance. In his analysis of the plot of the *Antigone*, Jebb could not have presented to us so false and misleading a portrait of Kreon, if by more study of the relevant facts he had trained himself to imagine how the Athenian audience would be impressed by the terrible words of the King, l. 1039, 'that man ye shall not bury, not even if the eagles of Zeus are fain to carry the carrion morsels of his flesh to the throne of God.' This wild and revolting blasphemy of a dull Theban despot who is maddened at any hint of opposition to his will is intended by the cunning Sophocles to cause a shudder in the Athenian audience and an instant conviction that the doom of such a man is sealed. Even Kreon seems half-terrified by the awful sound of his own speech and tries to escape its nemesis by resort to scepticism, 'for no mortals can pollute the gods.' Jebb is deaf to the call of the religious poet, and still clings to his faith in Kreon as the type of the respectable bourgeois. I cannot do justice in a few words to the heinousness of his note: 'The most orthodox Greek piety held that "no mortal could pollute the gods."' The myriad-tongued evidence from the ritual and beliefs of the popular creed exclaims against this worst error of our most brilliant commentator. The whole of Greek religious life was based on the opposite principle and would give the lie to Kreon, who here merely adds the folly of untimely scepticism to the sin of blasphemy. To make matters even worse Jebb cites as the solitary support for his paradox a passage almost equally great in Eur. *Herc. Fur.* 1232, where Theseus, endeavouring to save the broken-hearted Herakles who wishes to veil his polluted head from the sun's light, speaks these strange words to him, 'thou being a mortal dost not pollute the powers of heaven.' This is not scepticism here but the new message of a higher religious gospel, to the height of which antiquity never wholly rose: the Athenian audience might hold Euripides suspect for this daring doctrine, yet tolerate it here where it was a question of saving by any desperate device a mentally stricken man from suicide. Euripides is not Sophocles nor is Theseus Kreon; and to cite the two passages as parallels is to blur all distinctness of outline in the religious perception.

I have not set myself the unpleasant task of framing a detailed impeachment of some of our greatest scholars: and I may conclude this introductory part of my papers with enunciating from the point of view of a student of Greek religion certain canons of criticism which I find habitually ignored:

(*a*) as each of the three Tragedians was competing always for a prize, and therefore would naturally wish the people to understand him, he must be presumed to use religious names and phrases in the sense which the people would be sure to attach to them. We have all the more reason for this

assumption, as we note that when the poet wishes to preach or to innovate, he is found to call the people's attention to his new view or new pose (*δίχα δ' ἄλλων μονόφρων εἰμί*). Therefore it behoves us to discover, not for instance what Apollo or Ares was or stood for in the beginning of time, but what they meant for the Athenian people of the 5th century; and in the same sympathetic spirit to believe that when the poet says Helios he means Helios, and when he mentions Ares, even at such an awful moment as when the god is *ἄχαλκος ἀσπίδων* and the Thebans are dying in heaps, he does not mean the lurid Setting-Sun unless this amazing fact that Ares is a sort of Helios-Hades can be detected somewhere in the popular contemporary belief:

(*b*) great attention should be made to the significance of divine epithets in the Tragedians as in Pindar; but for the interpretation of them mere etymological analysis is not sufficient, but knowledge of local cults and general anthropological study is often demanded:

(*c*) that a poet's language is mysterious does not justify the commentator in an indolent allusion to Greek mysteries:

(*d*) ritual language should be interpreted in the light of Greek ritual-inscriptions.

I may now illustrate this preamble by a few examples drawn from the *Agamemnon* and *Choephoroi*.

Agam. 594. *καὶ γυναικείῳ νόμῳ.*

The difficulty of this reading has long been felt, namely that if we preserve it, we have to interpret *ἄλλος ἄλλοθεν* as meaning that various men in different places raised the *ὀλολυγμός*. But from the Homeric down through all the periods of classic Greek *ὀλολυγμός* is always the sacrificial cry of the women, and is so defined by the Lexicographers: the only exception is of that kind which proves the rule, namely the passage in the *De Corona* § 259 where Demosthenes taunts Aeschines with priding himself on his fine voice and with being able to raise the *ὀλολυγμός* louder than any of the women in the disreputable thiasoi of Attis; it is part of the jibe that Aeschines was mixed up in the rites of women. When Servius *Aen.* 4. 168 states 'Graeci primam proelii congressionem *ὀλολυγήν* dicunt' he is under the same illusion as apparently was the Scholiast on the Medicean text, *μόνῃ τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ, δαίμονι οὔσῃ πολεμικῇ, ὀλολύζουσι*. Therefore commentators have approved of Margoliouth and Wecklein's suggestion that we should read *γυναικεῖοι νόμοι*. Though Aeschylus would probably not have written *νομῳ* and *νομοι* with the same letters, yet this slight emendation would be acceptable, if it could possibly be reconciled with the line *θυηφάγον κοιμῶντες*; but its proposers do not seem to realize the difficulty that here arises; no Greek could speak of the loud strains of women lulling to sleep the fire on the altar. I can see no other makeshift for smoothing away the difficulty but a bolder emendation of *γυναικείῳ νόμῳ*, such as *γυναικεῖοι χοροί* (Gilbert) or *γυναικεῖοι στόλοι* (Hartung and Blaydes).

649. *χειμῶν' Ἀχαιῶν οὐκ ἀμήνιτον θεοῖς.*

Verrall's quaint idea that this bad MS. reading could stand as meaning a storm 'very provoking to the gods of the Achaeans' is indefensible in point of grammar, and ignores the fact that it was the Achaean gods who sent the storm; but it also betrays an ignorance of the religious phraseology of the Greeks. Ordinarily they did not call their deities *οἱ θεοὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων*, still less *τῶν Ἀχαιῶν*, but only when it might be necessary to contrast them with the 'gods of the Egyptians,' or 'gods of the Persians': otherwise they are of course merely *οἱ θεοί*: cf. Greek inscr. in Brit. Mus. *Ἀπόλλωνι καὶ τοῖς Ἰταλικοῖς θεοῖς Arch. Anz.* 1909, p. 421.

1193. *εὐνὰς ἀδελφοῦ τῷ πατοῦντι δυσμενεῖς.*

These words grammatically may be interpreted either in the sense that the Erinyes express their loathing for the murder of the children of Thyestes by Atreus or for the adultery of Thyestes which provoked that murder. The second interpretation is preferred by Verrall: the only other passage that could support it is Sophocles *Electra* 114 *αἱ τοὺς εὐνὰς ὑποκλεπτομένους. . . .* It might be supposed that Aeschylus was aware that in Attic cult they were charged with some function of protecting the marriage, as Athena in the *Eumen.* 834 promises that sacrifice shall be made to them *πρὸ παίδων καὶ γαμηλίου τέλους*: but if he there has anything real in mind it is some ritual connected with the Semnai, who in Athens were not really *Ἐρινύες* at all, but probably half-disguised forms of the Earth-goddess and her daughter. It is also true that Aeschylus at times attaches to the Erinyes a vague and wide moral administration (as in *Ag.* 462), but more frequently he limits their sphere specially to bloodshed, and in the *Eumenides* even to the special department of kindred bloodshed. Here then in this passage in the *Agamemnon* where we have to choose between unnatural murder of kindred and mere adultery as the crime for which they demand vengeance, the former is by far the more natural interpretation: it also better suits the order of the words.

1257. *ὀτοτοῖ, Λύκει' Ἄπολλον.*

It is an old-fashioned error that this epithet denotes the destructive side of Apollo; it supports itself merely on the passage in *Sept. C. Theb.* 132 *καὶ σὺ Λύκει' ἄναξ Λύκειος γενοῦ στρατῷ δαίῳ.* But repeatedly in the *Electra* of Sophocles he is prayed to as a benign god: this is also his character in Aesch. *Suppl.* 686 *εὐμενὴς δ' ὁ Λύκειος ἔστω πάσᾳ νεολαίᾳ.* Aeschylus in *Sept.* 132 shows himself aware that Apollo might at times be identified with the wolf, and does not fall into Sophocles' mistake of calling him *λυκοκτόνος*. But in no other passage except that in the *Septem* need we give the epithet the etymological sense. He is appealed to by Cassandra as by Electra as being the great god of the Argive state in whose temple burnt the perpetual fire. In this passage of the *Agamemnon*, Aeschylus could not have wished the name

to connote the wolf, for almost immediately after Aegisthus is called the wolf, and he is by no means under the protection of Apollo. For the Argives and Athenians of the 5th century the word Λύκειος had for the most part only a local meaning.

1332. δακτυλοδεικτων.

This word is treated by all modern editors as a verbal adjective in the gen. plur. with a paroxytone accent, and interpreted 'all-envied,' 'pointed at with the finger of admiration.' If there were such a word, which is nowhere else actually found, it might indeed bear such a sense; the Latin 'monstratus digito' would be in itself no evidence for Greek, but a passage in Lucian's Ἐνύπνιον 11, τῷ δακτύλῳ σὲ δείξας 'οὗτος ἐκεῖνος' λέγων . . . shows that the later Greek could express admiration by the act and the phrase δεικνύναι τι τῷ δακτύλῳ. Yet this meaning is here not wholly suitable, for if the house is already all-envied, the danger which the wise owner ought to avert is already incurred: we rather want some such phrase as 'no one tries to keep off excessive prosperity from the house of moderate means μελάθρων μετρίων.' I am convinced that the MSS. and the Scholiasts were right in interpreting the word as an active present participle in the masc. nom. sing. from the verb δακτυλοδεικτέω, which occurs in Demosthenes and later writers: for the MSS. give us δακτυλοδεικτῶν, and the comment of the Scholiast which I have not found noticed by any modern commentator is οὐδὲ τῷ δακτύλῳ τις παραδεικνὺς αὐτῷ ἀποστήσει τῷ οἴκῳ· οὐ γάρ ποτέ τι τοιοῦτον ὑποπτεύσει: what sense all these words convey is not absolutely clear: but it is clear that he understood that it is the master of the house who is keeping the danger away by pointing with his finger and that he read δακτυλοδεικτῶν. The new meaning then that I propose is this 'No one thinks of standing in front of his house and keeping the Nemesis of excessive prosperity away, averting the evil eye by pointing with his middle finger and uttering the words 'Come no longer to enter here.' Aeschylus is thinking of one of the various apotropaeic methods for averting bad spiritual influences from houses. In Thasos Mr. Tod (*Hell. Journ.* 1909 p. 99) found an inscription on an old Greek house Ἡρακλῆς ἐνθάδε κατοικεῖ: I had occasion to point out to him that this was explained by the Pompeian inscription Kaibel Ep. 1138 ὁ τοῦ Διὸς παῖς καλλίνικος Ἡρακλῆς ἐνθάδε κατοικεῖ· μηδὲν εἰσίτω κακόν. The latter words remind us of the Aeschylean phrase. Ghosts might be frightened off by the advertisement that 'the great Herakles ἀλεξίκακος [the terror of all ghosts] lives here': truth is not important in magic spells: a more common apotropaion was to extend the middle finger against the evil eye. It may be that in Demosthenes' speech against Aristogeiton (790. 20), the word δακτυλοδεικτεῖν also had some *nuance* of apotropaeic meaning: he is speaking of Aristogeiton, at whom men point the finger, as marking out the greatest villain in the world. But in the later passages, Dio Cassius (61. 17) and Dion. Hal. *De Rhet.* 7. 4, the better sense attaches to it.

Choeph. 1-3.

The first three lines have been debateable ground, ever since Aristophanes criticized them in the *Frogs*. I only wish to suggest reasons for thinking that Aeschylus gives us in that amusing scene the true and obvious interpretation, to which we feel that Aristophanes himself assents: the other interpretations offered by ancient and modern commentators are all less likely, some are most improbable, some impossible: undeserving of notice are those that refer *πατρῷα* to Agamemnon and *κράτη* to his death or victories. First let us note that Hermes *χθόνιος* was just the very deity to be prominently mentioned here, for Orestes is kneeling at his father's grave; graves were often dedicated to Hermes *χθόνιος*, as many grave-inscriptions from Thessaly show us: also *ἀγάλματα* of Hermes were set up by graves, and in all probability there was one here. After the invocation of Hermes *χθόνιος*, it was most natural to dwell a little on that title; therefore the words *πατρῷ' ἐποπτεύων κράτη* naturally refer back to H. *χθόνιος*, and mean 'the steward of powers that are thy sire's,' in excellent accord with the popular religion; for Hermes was not the Lord of the lower world in his own right, but only as the minister and messenger of Zeus *χθόνιος*. Two other modern interpretations may be ruled out. (*a*) Tucker, translating the words *πατρῷ' ἐπ . . . κράτη* as I do, interprets them by what follows, in reference to *Σωτὴρ γενοῦ μοι*, 'in stewarding the will of thy sire *Ζεὺς Σωτήρ*, become *Σωτήρ* to me.' He does not argue the other interpretation which is given above. There are two objections to his own, one slighter, one stronger: the style of the phrase suffers if it is to be explained by what follows rather than by what precedes, for the mind of the hearer is kept in suspense; secondly *qua χθόνιος*, Hermes was a steward, *qua Σωτήρ* he was in his own right, as every deity was at times by divine right a saviour and apt to be invoked as such—no apology was necessary. Tucker, whose ignorance of Greek religion is, in spite of one or two good suggestions, the weakest part in his book, is perhaps not aware of a recorded cult of Hermes *Σωτήρ* at Amorgos (4th cent. inscr. B.C.). (*b*) But Verrall follows a still worse interpretation, suggested by Macnaghten in the *Journal of Philology* xvi, 205, that *πατρῷε* is a vocative and an appellative of Hermes. Tucker merely notes a stylistic difficulty here involved. If each of these three scholars had devoted necessary research to this crucial point, he could have discovered what exactly the Greeks meant when they called a god *πατρῷος*, and whether Hermes could be so called here. The appellative normally means that the deity is the actual ancestor of a special community or family. Hermes had nowhere this position except in Arcadia; and not even there is the appellative attested of him. The only family, so far as we know, who could call Hermes *πατρῷος* were the Kerykes in Attica, and even their claim was disputed (see my *Cults* iii. p. 172). A speaker in Lysias' oration alludes to this privilege of the Kerykes, and this passage has misled Verrall into supposing that Hermes was anywhere and everywhere *πατρῷος*. No Hellenic deity was ever that. As neither Orestes' family nor

the Argive state claimed Hermes for their ancestor, *πατρῷε* is meaningless: the *θεὸς πατρῷος* of Orestes is of course Zeus.

32. *τόρος γὰρ φοῖβος ὀρθόθριξ.*

The word *φοῖβος* comes as a shock to any imagination trained on some knowledge of Greek and especially Apolline religion; but Wecklein, Verrall and Tucker remain unshocked and contented. The first excellent scholar is honestly ignorant of this special department of research and usually silent on points that concern it. But the two others, in dealing with this phrase, not only make illegitimate assumptions concerning unheard of meanings of *φοῖβος*, but also reveal a profound misconception of Greek religious feeling and of the Apolline worship. There is no deity in the Hellenic polytheism whose name was so impossible in this particular text. This ghostly vision of the night that makes the hair to stand on end and the flesh to quake comes from the infernal regions and smells of the sepulchre. The Greek would say like our poet, 'Not here, O Apollo, are haunts meet for thee.' For of this god the chorus in the *Agamemnon* say 'he is not such as to meet the funeral-wailer,' 'he is no fit god to take part in lamentation.' He could not come near the house where there was a death: the ship that wafts the soul of the dead is 'untrodden by Apollo' (*Sept.* 859). Therefore he loathes ghosts and ghostly dreams, and among the numberless records of his mantic shrines there is nowhere a hint of a dream-oracle. Those commentators should have noted the passage in *Iph. Taur.* 1259, which narrates how Apollo protested against the intrusion of *νύχιοι ὄνειροι* into the Delphic system of divination and got them banished for ever: they might then have felt that *φοῖβος* is here a sacrilegious word. The word *φόβος* is wholly appropriate, and if Tucker knew that *φόβος* is constantly personified as a demon he would not say *φόβος κότον πνέων*, a wholly proper figure, is 'very unnatural.' The Scholiast read *φόβος*: the poet himself in two later passages 287, 928, guarantees the truth of *φόβος*: and the dream-interpreters knew that the dream came from Hades, therefore it did not come from *Φοῖβος*.

60-65.

This vexed and interesting passage is a complex problem of criticism; here I only want to present one general view concerning it. W. G. Headlam, in his article in the *Classical Review*, 1902, concerning Tucker's *Choephoroi*, blames Tucker for not having been guided in his opinion concerning the true meaning by the passage in Plutarch *De Ser. Num. Vind.* (564 E) where three classes of offenders are distinguished: (*a*) the lesser sinners who are punished swiftly in this life by corporeal retribution, (*b*) those whose sins are greater and who are punished after death in Purgatory by Dike, (*c*) the hopeless sinners whom Dike cannot amend by any punishment and who are consigned for ever to the depths of Tartarus. And Headlam supposes that Aeschylus has this Orphic doctrine of a graduated posthumous retribution in his mind.

I cannot agree with Headlam, nor do I feel that Plutarch helps us at all to understand Aeschylus. Plutarch has been undoubtedly influenced by the great poet; but he has imported into the retributive theory the Orphic doctrines that were much in vogue at the time and to which Plutarch was devoted. But though Aeschylus has the common popular belief in some retribution after death, there is no passage in his plays that even faintly suggests Orphic influence. Nor is it likely that he would darkly and guardedly steal a march upon his audience here. Pindar (*Ol.* 2. 57) on the other hand was profoundly excited by Orphism, and is the first apostle in literature of the dogma of Purgatory: but when he desires to proclaim this, he advertises the fact and calls our attention to it as a new and esoteric doctrine. Was Aeschylus less straightforward than Pindar? I believe this passage refers wholly to retribution in this life: (for *τὰ δ' ἐν μεταιχμίῳ σκότου* is not an intelligible phrase for the lower world:) and it might merely mean—some sinners in the prime of life are being watched by justice, who will soon fall upon them: others she lies in wait for in the twilight of their life, that is, old age: others she visits instantly, and they are swallowed up in the darkness of utter night.

267-268. *οὓς ἴδοιμ' . . . φλογός.*

If these words only refer to the funeral pyre, as is always supposed, they do not express a good curse: 'whom may I one day see dead' is a curse though a weak one: 'whom may I one day see dead and honourably buried' is almost a blessing. Now Aeschylus in the *Κρῆσσαι* and Kratinos alluded to a terrible form of execution, not unknown to the negroes of the United States, which must have been occasionally used in Greece for the vilest criminals, of covering the victim with pitch and setting him alight: this gave rise to the expressions *πισσοκώνητος Ἄρης* and *πισσοκώνητος μόρος*. The phrase here used by the chorus exactly expresses this painful process (vide *Cults of the Greek States* vol. v. *Ares* R 3). We note also that the oracle mentioned in Athenaeus 524 A which reprobated the Milesian aristocrats for having put the democratic leaders and their children to this horrible death speaks of it as a *πισσήρης μόρος*, using the same word as Aeschylus here. The curse of the chorus is a good curse, meaning 'may they die by the fiery torture of the tarred shirt.'

346. *νεοκρᾶτα φίλον κομίζει.*

The MS. reading is evidently slightly wrong because of the metre: the cementing of friendship by drinking a bowl of wine together, a well-attested Greek practice, is supposed by Tucker to fully justify the phrase 'a newly-mixed friend': this may seem possible, but it hardly strikes us as natural, except on the supposition that the ancient Greeks practised, in ratifying a new friendship, the Teutonic rite of mixing a few blood-drops from each friend in a bowl and drinking each a part of the life of the other: then indeed the friend could be said to be mixed up in the bowl, for the essence of him is in it. Verrall sees this and assumes that the Teutonic practice occurred in Greece,

quoting various passages, all of which are irrelevant. In fact he says it must have been in vogue, as this passage proves it, which is a *petitio principii*. Knowing how rare was the sacramental shedding of human blood in Greece, how solemnly and reluctantly resorted to in exceptional ritual, I must refuse to believe this theory without clear evidence. Trumbull in his treatise *The Blood-Covenant* could find no Hellenic example; and Herodotus recording it of the Medes and Lydians regards it as un-Hellenic (I. 74). As the MS. has clearly blundered a little in transcribing the line, I suspect *φίλον*: and should prefer *φιλίαν νεοκρᾶτα κομίζοι*.

394. *καὶ πότ' ἂν ἀμφιθαλὴς Ζεὺς ἐπὶ χεῖρα βάλοι.*

Nothing is more important for the religious interpretation of the Tragedians than to appreciate the special significance of divine epithets. And this one here is at once the most singular in the poetry of the Attic stage, and the most valuable for its revelation of a peculiar law of the Greek religious imagination, rarely noted by scholars. To emend the word *ἀμφιθαλής* is to shirk one's duty. To explain it as 'wrapt in flame,' 'armed with a thunderbolt in both hands,' or more simply as 'flourishing all round' is trifling. The Attic records prove that *ἀμφιθαλής* only meant for them 'a child who had both parents alive'; the *παῖς ἀμφιθαλής* figures in many ritual-formulae as a necessary functionary in certain divine services, such as a marriage, a procession, a sacrifice. The word occurs in this sense in Homer and not infrequently in the Attic literature, while it is rare in the late *κοινή* Greek. And even then the lexicographers (Hesych., Et. Mag. s.v.) remembered its true and only meaning. Where then it occurs in Attic poetry, we must cling to this sense of it, and try to understand it. The daring Aeschylus uses it in a great phrase about the nightingale (*Ag.* 1140), who weeps for her *ἀμφιθαλῆ κακοῖς βίον*—which I venture to suggest means a life with an everliving parentage of woe, for the sources that engendered her woe are always alive. Aristophanes uses it in the true and exact sense when he speaks of *Ἔρως ἀμφιθαλής* as figuring in the bridal procession of Zeus and Hera (*Av.* 1737): Eros has both parents alive and is therefore qualified by Attic ritual law to assist in the wedding ceremony. Once in the *Axiochos* the word is found as the epithet of *ἀλήθεια*, with doubtful meaning; but this dialogue, falsely ascribed to Plato, may be as late as the third century A.D.

Our present passage is earnestly religious. How can we suppose that Aeschylus, more versed in and more heedful of the religious terms of the current speech and faith than perhaps any other poet, would forget the proper ritual sense of the word? Wilamowitz appears rightly to insist that we must explain *Ζεὺς ἀμφιθαλής* on the analogy of *παῖς ἀμφιθαλής*. And Blass pathetically reproaches him for doing so 'ohne für dieses Stelle ein klares Verständniss zu erreichen.' Whether Wilamowitz could explain it to Blass or to Verrall or the others, I do not know. But Tucker begins to see light, and from the point of view of religion his note is the best he has written in his com-

mentary; he begins indeed wrongly—'*ἀμφιθαλής* = the god of both parents . . . *Ζεὺς πατρῶος καὶ μητρῶος*'—but immediately he comes near to the truth 'as the god of the suppliant is *Ζεὺς Ἀφίκτωρ*, so the god of the *ἀμφιθαλής* is *Ζεὺς ἀμφιθαλής*.' He leaves it there, and shows no clear consciousness that he is dealing with a remarkable illustration of a remarkable law. Most divine epithets in Greek as in other religions express either some permanent quality or power of the deity, *Ζεὺς ἱκέσιος*, *Ζεὺς ὄμβριος*, or some fact in the religious history or myth concerning him or her, e.g. *Zeus' γιγαντοφόνος*. Now *Zeus* is not *ἀμφιθαλής*, as here invoked, because he is a boy with father and mother still living. He is not here invoked as a boy-god; and if he happened to have his father still alive, who was unfortunately immortal, it was not the fault of *Zeus* that this was so. In fact *ἀμφιθαλής* here belongs to a small class of divine appellatives, which are directly transferred from the worshipper, to whom they properly belong, to the deity by a curious motive of religious magic, so as to make the invocation stronger in its compulsion. *Zeus* is of course in his own self no suppliant, and to call him *ἱκέσιος* is not to call him one; but to call him *ἵκτωρ ἀφίκτωρ ἱκέτης* is: and Aeschylus attaches the first two epithets to him and a Spartan archaic inscription gives him the third. *Zeus* is no *ἀλάστορος*, a miserable sinner, yet it seems that Aeschylus dared to call him so for Ixion's sake, because the wretched Ixion wanted special aid from him, and being himself *ἀλάστορος*, a 'wandering' wretched murderer, he calls *Ζεὺς πρευμενὴς ἀλάστορος* (unless indeed a grammarian in Cramer's *Anecd.* is fooling us, vide Aesch. *Fr.* 90 Dind.). *Zeus* was no farmer, but an Attic inscription calls him *Γεωργός*: nor was he anybody's and everybody's kinsman, yet any injured kinsman could invoke *Ζεὺς ὁμόγνιος* or *Ζεὺς σύναιμος*, calling literally on *Zeus* the kinsman. These are a few instances—of which the number might be increased, but is certainly not large—of a Greek psychical magico-religious law. By using the exact word in an invocation or prayer the Greek felt he could compel God: by a daring magic transference of his own self, his own condition, his own need to the god, he could evoke between him and the object of his spell-prayer a temporary communion and the sympathetic help that comes from communion. Thus the suppliant calls on *Zeus* Suppliant, the sinner on *Zeus* Sinner, the farmer on *Zeus* Farmer, the *παῖς ἀμφιθαλής* on *Ζεὺς Ἀμφιθαλής*. Aegisthos had injured the *παῖς ἀμφιθαλής* by killing Agamemnon. Let him dread the wrath of *Ζεὺς Ἀμφιθαλής* on whom young Orestes would have cried beforehand to save his father, if he could. Long ago I was struck with the Arcadian cult-epithet of Hera *χήρα*—and I explained it by a myth of Hera living divorced from *Zeus* which might have been reflected in a religious service (vide my *Cults* i. p. 191). But it occurs to me as possible now that this is again an instance of our law: and that as the girls prayed to Hera the Girl (*παῖς*), the married woman to *Ἥρα Τελεία*, so the widows prayed to Hera the Widow, without asking whether Hera was a widow. The general feeling underlying this law we find in Christianity, but no other religion with

which I am familiar furnishes examples of such a phenomenal religious invocation as Zeus the Suppliant, Hera the Widow, Zeus 'Αμφιθαλής.

484. *παρ' εὐδείπνοις*, etc.

The MS. reading, which was also that of the Scholiast's, *ἐν πυροῖσι*, is regarded as impossible, for the plural *πυρά* is only used for watchfires, and is universally emended to *ἐμπύροισι* (the Aeschylean text no doubt writing *ἐμ* for *ἐν*). But I find the whole phrase unsatisfactory. In regard to the first part of the sentence we shall do well to follow, as Tucker does, the interpretation of the Scholiast: 'among the well-feasted ghosts thou shalt be dishonoured'; for *εὐδείπνοις*, apart from being so far distant from *ἐμπύροισι*, makes an unlikely epithet for such a noun, and we may dismiss Hesychius' note on *εὔδειπνα· θυσία τις 'Αθήνησι . . . καὶ αἱ τοῖς νεκροῖς ἐπιφερομέναι σπονδαί, ἤγουν χοαί* as valueless for this passage, for it is probably a fictitious commentary on this passage itself—feasts at Athens were not called by such naïve names as 'a good dinner.' By following the Scholiast then we get a good and strong sense for *παρ' εὐδείπνοις ἔσῃ ἄτιμος*. But when we come to *ἐμπύροισι κνισωτοῖς χθονός*, difficulties, hitherto unrealized, seem to multiply as we analyze it by the test of real Attic religious terminology. But first as to the grammar: what sort of dative can the isolated *ἐμπύροις* be? a dative of occasion, says Tucker, quoting *δείπνοις, Θεσμοφορίοις, μυστηρίοις, τραγῳδοῖς καινοῖς, τῷ γυμνικῷ ἀγῶνι*. But all these datives of occasion are found in words denoting not, a single concrete thing or set of such things, but processes, periods, continuous actions, generally of abstract quality; the Greeks could not say '*ἄρτῳ*' 'on the occasion of bread' or '*οἴνῳ*' 'at wine'; nor could they say *ἐμπύροις*, any more than we could say 'at a mutton-chop' 'at a thigh-bone'; for *ἔμπυρα* does not mean 'the sacrifice of mutton-chops, thigh-bones, entrails etc.,' as Tucker insinuates, but just these things themselves laid in the flame of the altar. Also though the Greek could say *θυσίαι χθονός, βωμοὶ χθονός*, he would not be likely to say the *ἔμπυρα χθονός*, 'the thigh-bones, entrails, etc. of the land.' And when Tucker, perhaps conscious of this, tries to suggest another meaning, 'burnt-offerings paid to Mother-Earth,' he is ignorant apparently that *χθών* is not a personage of ritual at all, and cannot take the ritual place of Ge as a receiver of offerings. Again, I doubt if *ἔμπυρα* would be called *κνισωτά*, as we may speak of a smoking mutton-chop; for it is natural to regard *κνισωτά* as in meaning the passive adjective of *κνισάω*, Aeschylus choosing to invent *κνισωτός* from an imaginary *κνισόω* rather than *κνισητός* from the existing *κνισάω*; but the accusative after *κνισάω* is not the thing cooked, but the place where the smoke was produced; thus *κνισᾶν ἀγυιάς, κνισᾶν βωμόν*. We may emend the MS. to avoid all these difficulties; if there is an error in two words, it may be in the second rather than the first, and we want the preposition *ἐν*. I propose *ἐν πυραῖσι* for *ἐν πυροῖσι*. Πυρά is the orthodox and regular word for the oblong altar-table on which burnt-offerings to a god or hero are laid, occurring in inscriptions

and in Attic tragedy: Apollo's altar in the *Ion*. 1258 is πυρά: the altar of Zeus in the courtyard is the ἑρκεῖος πυρά in the *Troades* 483; and twice in the *Electra*, 92, 325, Euripides calls the tomb of Agamemnon a πυρά. The plural is here in place, because Orestes is thinking not only of a future πυρά in honour of his father but of all the πυραί of the various deities where naturally Agamemnon ought to be invited to come and partake, as the ghost of Pindar was invited to the altar of Apollo at Delphi: and now, reading ἐν πυραῖσι κνισωταῖς, we get a simple strong Aeschylean religious phrase; 'by the side of the well-feasted souls thou shalt have no honour on the smoking altar-tables of the land.'

806. τὸ δὲ καλῶς κταμένου (ων) MS.

The right view of this passage has been taken by many modern commentators, such as Paley, Blaydes and Tucker; but the wrong view is still possible, as we see in Verrall's commentary and in an article by Oppé in the *Hellenic Journal* 1904 on 'the chasm at Delphi.' I only cite the passage as a good example of the havoc that may be wrought by interpreters who have no trained imagination of the popular religious feeling. With the MS. reading κταμένου (ων), which no one except Verrall can translate or endure, and for which the emendation κτίμενον is generally accepted, I am not directly concerned. The important question here is—who is the god invoked? Verrall and Oppé maintain that it is Hades. Against this there are these two considerations: στόμιον is a cleft of the earth, such as a cavern; Hades is not usually regarded as dwelling in a cavern, but far underground and μέγα στόμιον could not be a vague description of the whole underground world: secondly, and this is the fatal objection, no Greek could conceivably pray to Hades for light and liberty, any more than he could invite Hades to take part in a merry choral dance. Compare the other passages in the dramatists where Hades is invoked: such are *Pers*. 649, where the dark god is prayed to send up the ghost of Darius—or *Antigone* 543, 1200 where he is appealed to in the matter of the burying of Polyneikes. Matters concerning ghosts, burial, and the vengeance of the dead are the special occasions for his invocation: he could send up a ghost with a vengeance, but he could not send up light. The natural god to pray to for light and liberty is Apollo, who is here badly wanted. Nor need Oppé have been disturbed about the fate of his theory, which is that no early writer mentions any cavern in the temple of Delphi itself: for μέγα στόμιον does not refer to the temple, but to the whole of Delphi with the famous cavern of Kastalia.

985. Ἀλλ' ὁ πάντ' ἐποπτέυων τάδε.

I cannot but feel that Tucker commits here a serious error in religious exegesis, marring the sublimity of this great passage, which for a certain sombre beauty is perhaps unique in any tragedy. In certain moments of great

exaltation, in the taking of the most solemn oath or in the most moving appeal to the divine powers, the Greek was wont to revert to those elemental forces of earth and sun that had generally faded before the personal figures of polytheism. Therefore Ge and Helios are so frequently named in the formula of the oath; and Helios had specially the function of the righteous judge and witness, like Shamash of Babylon. Orestes could do no more natural, no stronger thing, than to reveal to the light of the sun the blood-stained robe, and call on Helios to be his witness. Yet because in the actual trial that follows, Helios naturally did not come on as witness but Apollo does, Tucker maintains that here Helios means Apollo; and he adds that the identification of the two divinities (on occasion) is practically certain for Aeschylus. But when one examines his 'occasions' we find him wrong at every point. Aeschylus himself never comes near identifying Helios with Apollo,[1] nor did the Athenians of his period, as a study of the cult-facts sufficiently proves. Euripides is our first witness for this identification, which he tells us was a favourite dogma of the *σοφοί*. If Aeschylus had here tried to play the *σοφός*, we should have lost one of the greatest utterances of his poetic inspiration.

LEWIS R. FARNELL.

[1] A fragment of the *Xantriai* seems to identify Artemis with the moon; but it would be shallow to argue that he therefore identifies Apollo with the sun (vide my *Cults* ii. p. 460).

ASTROLOGY IN DRACONTIVS.

Nec, si rationem siderum ignoret, poetas intellegat said Quintilian of Γραμματική; and in the history of scholarship during the last two centuries there is much to confirm his sentence. The elements of astronomy were once part of a scholar's ordinary equipment, and astronomical allusions in the poets, if expounded at all and not left by the editor to the knowledge and intelligence of the reader, were usually expounded aright. The first three lines of Lucan's seventh book are briefly but correctly explained by the scholiast, and Oudendorp so late as 1728 was content to quote his explanation: then Cortius and Burmann and Bentley came forward to misinterpret them, and they have been misinterpreted ever since, because editors of the classics no longer know which way the sun moves.

> segnior Oceano quam lex aeterna uocabat
> luctificus Titan numquam magis aethera contra
> egit equos cursumque polo rapiente retorsit.

'contra orientem enim currit, sed orbis uertigine rapitur, ut cum eo ire uideatur' schol. The sun's proper motion is from west to east, and in that direction he circles the zodiac once a twelvemonth. The motion which carries him over our heads from east to west once every twenty-four hours is not his motion but the sky's: he meanwhile, like a fly on a wheel, crawls feebly the other way. On the morning of Pharsalia, desiring not to rise, he took the obvious course of accelerating this regression; and if he could have multiplied his customary pace by $365\frac{1}{4}$ he would have attained his object, and Pharsalia would have been fought in the dark if fought at all. But the task excelled his power, and eternal law had her way in the long run.

On the other hand it cannot fairly be asked of a grammarian that he should encumber his mind with a knowledge of that intricate fraud by which Asia revenged herself on Europe for the conquests of Alexander. To deal with an astrological author he must of course lay in a large stock of obsolete misinformation; though indeed I can hardly say *must*, when two scholars within the last ten years have undertaken to edit Manilius without so much as learning the difference between a horoscope and a chronocrator. But in the main body of Latin literature allusions to astrology are neither frequent nor for the most part abstruse; and a scholar of to-day may well plead that he has

no time to spare for the fantasies which amused the abundant leisure of Chaldaea. Nevertheless obscurities of this nature continually cause trouble here and there; and among them are two passages in the secular poems of Dracontius. Had those works been discovered in the 17th century, when the mind of Europe still sat by the waters of Babylon, these verses would have been widely understood not only by scholars but by laymen, and Dryden, for instance, would have seen their drift almost as soon as Salmasius. But a century like the 19th was no favourable season for their interpretation or correction.

In the poem *de mensibus* (Vollmer p. 227, *anth. Lat.* Ries. 874[a], *P.L.M.* Baehr. V p. 215) the following distich describes the month of July:

> humida dant siccas messes domicilia Lunae: 13
> fontanas exhaurit aquas, ut Nilus inundet.

'13 obscurus' is Mr Riese's note in 1906, and Mr J. Ziehen in 1909, *Neue Studien zur Lat. Anthologie* p. 33, speaks of 'der in der Überlieferung verderbte u. 13, den Riese mit Recht als "obscurus" bezeichnet', says that 'die Heilung der Stelle ist äusserst schwierig', and proposes 'in Ermangelung von Besserem' a conjecture which I will not report.

During the first three weeks of July the Sun is in Cancer, and under that sign the corn is reaped: *anth. Lat.* 640 (Auson. 382, Peip. p. 102) 7 'solstitio ardentis Cancri fert Iulius astrum', 864 (*P.L.M.* V p. 379) 3 'Iulius aestiuas Cancro secat altus aristas', 395 (*P.L.M.* I p. 208) 25–8 'ecce coloratos ostentat Iulius artus, | crines cui rutilos spicea serta ligat. | morus sanguineos praebet grauidata racemos, | quae medio Cancri sidere laeta uiret'. Now it is a commonplace of astrology that Cancer is the house of the Moon: I might quote two hundred passages but I will quote two, Sext. emp. *πρὸς ἀστρ.* 34 *οἶκος δέ ἐστι κατ' αὐτοὺς Ἡλίου μὲν Λέων, Σελήνης δὲ Καρκίνος*, schol. German. Breys. p. 223 21 'domus Solis est Leo, Lunae Cancer'. Poets, so well was this known, could use the periphrasis at will without fear of misapprehension: when Manetho II 363 says *ἐν δ' οἴκῳ Μήνης*, that means *ἐν Καρκίνῳ*; and when pseudo-Manetho V 253 says *Ἡελίου οἴκῳ*, that is the same as II 342 *Λέοντι, δόμῳ πανδερκέος Ἡελίοιο*. Dracontius' next verse, 15, descriptive of August, is '*atria Solis* habet, sed nomen Caesaris adfert', i.e. *οἶκον Ἡλίου*, the sign of Leo: *anth. Lat.* 640 8 'Augustum mensem Leo feruidus igne perurit', 864 4 'autumni caput Augustus parat ore Leonis', Drac. *delib. Achill.* 21 sq. 'signa Leonis | Augusto quid mense parent'. Finally in *Med.* 400 Dracontius makes his heroine pray to the Moon as 'astrorum princeps . . . cui Cancer domus'.

Cancer, according to the astrologers (e.g. Ludw. Maxim. p. 106), is *ὑδατώδης, ἔνυδρος, κάθυγρος*, and is thus a suitable habitation for the Moon, herself a planet of moisture (e.g. *catal. cod. astrol. Graec.* VII p. 222 20 *φύσεώς ἐστιν ὑγρᾶς*). Hence the epithet *humida*.

It is while the Sun is in Cancer that the Nile begins to rise: Manil. III 634-6 'Nilusque tumescit in arua: | hic rerum status est, Cancri cum sidere Phoebus | solstitium facit', Luc. X 234 sq. 'Cancroque suam torrente Syenen | iussus adest (Nilus)'. The theory here adopted by Dracontius is the theory maintained in the Aristotelian treatise *de inundatione Nili*,—that the moisture exhaled in summer from northern latitudes is carried south by the etesian winds and descends in rain on the mountains of Aethiopia, Europe meanwhile enjoying dry weather for its harvest. The subject of *exhaurit* is *Luna;* and it might seem that the Moon is here confused or identified with her house as in Maneth. II 396 Μήνη μὲν Τιτὰν, Μήνη δὲ γέγηθε Λέοντι, where the context shows that Μήνη signifies Μήνης οἶκῳ, i.e. Καρκίνῳ. But probably this is not so, and the Moon herself is meant; for the moment of the Nile's rise was supposed to coincide with the first new moon after the solstice: Plin. *n. h.* V 57 '(Nilus) incipit crescere luna noua, quaecumque post solstitium est, sensim modiceque Cancrum sole tenente, abundantissime autem Leonem', comm. Ptol. *tetr.* ed. Basil. 1559 p. 77 καὶ μάλιστα παρὰ τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις αὕτη ἐσπουδάζετο ἡ νουμηνία (sc. ἡ ἐν τῷ Καρκίνῳ)· τότε γὰρ ὁ Νεῖλος ὁ πάντων αὐτοῖς τῶν ἀγαθῶν αἴτιος πληθύνει.[1] Hence the particular mention of '*fontanas* aquas': Plin. *n. h.* II 223 '(ferunt) in dulcibus aquis Lunae alimentum esse, sicut in marinis Solis'.

Cancer and the Moon recur in a passage which I have already mentioned, *Medea* 396-403.

> astrorum princeps, signorum gratia fulgens
> et caeli stellantis honos, caliginis hostis
> ac nocturnorum triplex regina polorum
> atque tenebrarum splendens patrona mearum,
> cui Cancer domus<est>, ora clarissima mundi, 400
> bracchia contorquens stellis, quae mense peragras
> quod Phoebus radians toto uix explicat anno,
> corporis et dominam uerax quam turba fatetur.

Here the allusion is a little more recondite, and the text must be corrected before it can be explained. Baehrens wrote 'domus *articulo* clarissima mundi': he was wrong, but not far wrong in point of sense; and such an error is better than printing gibberish as if it meant something, and as if you knew what it meant.

One of the titles of Cancer is ὡροσκόπος κόσμου: Heph. Theb. I 1 (ed. Engelbrecht p. 52 6), Vett. Val. I 2 (ed. Kroll p. 8 31), *C.C.A.G.* VII p. 199 23; Paul. Alex. fol. A 3 ἔστι δὲ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ ζῳδίῳ ὁ τοῦ κόσμου ὡροσκόπος. The world, you must know, was created one fine morning early in

[1] One can hardly glance at a Greek astrological text without seeing something that wants correction: ϒ in the next line and ☿ a dozen lines above ought both to be ♈, and in the words preceding my citation the γάρ should be deleted and the stop removed from πασῶν to ζῳδίῳ.

August, about an hour before sunrise, when the horoscope or ascendant or eastern point of the zodiac was in the 15th degree of Cancer. Instead of ὡροσκόπος or ὡρονόμος the Greek astrological poets often say ὥρη, as for instance Dorotheus (*C.C.A.G.* VI pp. 91-113) 97, 102, 185, 292, 304; in Manetho indeed ὥρη oftener has this sense than any other,[1] though the usage is not recorded in Stephanus or Liddell and Scott. In Latin *hora* is thus employed as early as Sen. *apocol.* 3 2 'patere mathematicos aliquando uerum dicere, qui illum, ex quo princeps factus est, omnibus annis, omnibus mensibus efferunt. et tamen non est mirum si errant et *horam* eius nemo nouit; nemo enim umquam illum natum putauit', and is several times so used by Firmicus, *math.* III 4 27, 5 35, IV 20 7, 22 4 (twice); but I quote III 1 1, because there his subject is the geniture of the world, *thema mundi*, and the part which Cancer played in it: 'Petosiris et Nechepso . . . constituerunt . . . *horam* in Cancri parte xv'. Now for many scribes of the middle ages the distinction observed by ancients and moderns between *hora* and *ora* did not exist; both words were spelt both ways, and in the MSS of Manilius, for example, the wrong spellings are commoner than the right. The *ora* of u. 400 is *hora*.

> cui Cancer domus est, hora clarissima mundi,
> bracchia contorquens stellis.

Dracontius does not hesitate to lengthen a short final syllable before a pair of consonants; though it is conceivable that the words are to be construed 'horā mundi (i.e. in hora mundi positus) bracchia stellis clarissima contorquens'. For *Cancer bracchia contorquens* (Duhn by his punctuation refers these last words to the Moon) see Ouid. *met.* II 83 'curuantem bracchia Cancrum' and Sen. *Thy.* 854 'curui bracchia Cancri'.

There is more astrology in u. 403. The Moon is *corporis domina*, while the Sun presides over life and the soul: Macrob. *sat.* I 19 17 'Luna . . . corporum praesul', Firm. *math.* IV 1 1 'omnis enim substantia humani corporis ad istius pertinet numinis potestatem', comm. Ptol. p. 140 τῇ Σελήνῃ, *αὕτη γὰρ . . . τοῦ παντὸς σώματός ἐστι κυρία.* At u. 540 Medea's maternal solicitude for the future of the children whom she is about to murder finds utterance in this supplication, 'accipe, Sol radians, animas, tu corpora, Luna'.

On the corruptions of Dracontius' text in general it is not my purpose to speak; but one passage which has nothing to do with astrology is so maltreated by the editors and yet so easy to correct that I append it here. *Orest. trag.* 462-470 should be written as follows.

[1] Rigler's index is so defective that I give here the instances which I have noted, omitting all places where the noun has an epithet serving to define it, such as βροτέη, γονίμη, βιοτοσκόπος, τεκνοσπόρος. III 32, 90, 158, 186, 190, 194, 208, 415; VI 23, 27, 36, 38, 60, 84, 95, 103, 106, 151, 172, 173, 315, 355, 380, 480, 556, 561, 649, 666, 716, 747; IV 28, 110, 165; I 267; V 27, 28, 314, 321.

optime rex quondam sed nunc miserabilis umbra,
prosperitas cui saeua fuit, uictoria crimen
intulit et mortem peperit post bella triumphus,
cuius adoratus constat per templa precantis
iratos audisse deos, placata negabant
numina prouentus : Danaos si uinceret Hector !
si gremio Paridis remaneret rapta Lacaena !
nonne laborasti Helenam ne pastor haberet ?
ecce tuam nunc pastor habet !

467 *uinceret Hector*] *uincere tecta* B. 468 *remaneret*] *remanes et* B. 469 *laborasti*] *laboratis* B. In 467 and 468 *si* means *utinam*.

A. E. Housman.

ON OVID FASTI VI. 263 SQQ.

On November 8, 1894, I read before the Cambridge Philological Society a paper in which the reading and the interpretation of this passage were discussed at length. A brief report of the paper was published in the *Proceedings* of the Society, Nos. 37-39, p. 16; and the cardinal correction (in v. 274) was received into the text of the *Fasti* which Professor G. A. Davies published in the *Corpus Poetarum Latinorum*. The *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society* are indeed now among the periodical publications of which the *Bibliotheca Philologica Classica* takes account: but an acquaintance with their earlier numbers is the privilege of the elect, and the sole mention of the correction that I have seen is an entry in the diligent summary of Ovidian literature in the *Jahresbericht* vol. 109 p. 282 which runs as follows 'VI 247 *ut tangat* (=Text; st. *et t. unnötig*[1]).' Whether the correction is 'needless' is not for me to say; but there is excuse for thinking that those who wish to form a judgment on its character will not deem it needless to have the evidence before them.

hic locus exiguus, qui sustinet atria Vestae,
  tunc erat intonsi regia magna Numae.
forma tamen templi, quae nunc manet, ante fuisse
  dicitur. et formae causa probanda subest.
Vesta eadem, quae terra. subest uigil ignis utrique.
  significant sedem terra focusque suam.
terra pilae similis, nullo fulcimine nixa,
  aere subiecto tam graue pendet onus.
ipsa uolubilitas libratum sustinet orbem,
  quique premat partes, angulus omnis abest.

[1] My italics. I will take the opportunity of enlightening the summarizer as to the meaning of another of my emendations in the *Fasti*. On IV 799 sq. 'an magis hunc morem pietas Aeneia fecit, | innocuum *uictor* cui dedit ignis iter?' where the MSS. have *uicto* he asks 'Was heisst *uictor ignis?*' What it means will be seen from I 523 sqq. 'uicta tamen uinces euersaque Troia resurges: | obruit hostiles ista ruina domos.] urite *uictrices* Neptunia Pergama *flammae*: | num minus hic toto est altior orbe cinis? | iam *pius Aeneas* sacra et sacra altera patrem | adferet; Iliacos accipe, Vesta, deos?' The same idea of the flames being defeated in the hour of victory is to be seen in Manilius IV 32 sqq. 'an, nisi fata darent leges uitaeque necisque, | *fugissent ignes Aeneam*, Troia sub uno | non euersa uiro fatis uicisset in ipsis?' It is perhaps needful to add that it was not Aeneas who was 'conquered' but the Trojans. From Aeneas, as Manilius puts it, the fires 'ran away.' [For *uictor* applied to *ignis* Mr. Housman refers me to Verg. *Georg.* II. 307.]

cumque sit in media rerum regione locata,
  et tangat nullum plusue minusue latus,
ni conuexa foret, parti uicinior esset,
  nec medium terram mundus haberet onus.
arte Syracosia suspensus in aere clauso
  stat globus, immensi parua figura poli:
et quantum a summis, tantum secessit ab imis
  terra. quod ut fiat, forma rotunda facit.
par facies templi. nullus procurrit in illo
  angulus. a pluuio uindicat imbre tholus.

I have printed the passage above in the form which is attested by the manuscripts. But in the leading edition of the *Fasti* (H. Peter, 1889) it is corrupted in the following ways. Line 268 appears in the following shape 'significant*que deam* templa focusque suam,' lines 271-6 are bracketed as spurious with Merkel and lines 277-8 with Bentley.

In the critical appendix (p. 94) some arguments are advanced for the athetizing of these lines which must be examined in detail. 1. It is said that the argumentation in them is confused. This is true; but excision is not the remedy. 2. It is said that 'the reference of *locata* in line 273 over the head of *angulus*, *orbis*, and *uolubilitas* is at least harsh.' 'Harsh' it may be, but it is pedantic to suggest that it is obscure. The subject to Ovid and to all his readers who are not in quest of objections is *terra* and *locata* is, as a matter of fact, clearer than *locat*us which would at first sight be referred to the *angulus* immediately preceding. It is not difficult to find instances both in Greek and Latin where the real subject dominates the gender. Two are enough to quote; σφραγίδια λίθινα δύο, χρυσοῦν ἔχον τὸν δακτύλιον ἡ δ' ἀργυροῦν *C. I. A.* II 652 A 45, 'fulgit item cum rarescunt quoque *nubila* caeli; | nam cum uentus *eas* leuiter diducit' Lucr. VI 214 sq. (cf. Munro on ib. 188, Brieger Lucr. *praef.* p. xix. 3. It is said that '*uolubilitas* can only refer to the revolution (Umschwung) of the earth, whereas it is the revolution of the universe that is taken to be the cause of the earth's remaining in suspension.' But *uolubilitas* does not mean 'revolution' but 'capability of revolving,' that is 'rotundity,' (*forma rotunda* v. 280). Ovid would doubtless have used *rotunditas* if *rotunditas* would have come into his verse. 4. Peter next urges that the universe is not properly discriminated from the earth, since *partes* in 272 refers to the earth, but *latus* in 274 and *parti* in 275 to the world. I see small obscurity here either; but if there is any, the Latin words for 'parts' available to Ovid were few. What would Peter himself have used? 5. 'The reader expects that *terra* in 280 should refer to the real earth, not to that in Archimedes' Sphere.' I do not know why the reader expects it. It is not like Ovid to leave his illustrations incomplete; and the sole point of the citation of Archimedes' model here is to illustrate the place of the *earth*. 6. Merkel's strongest argument: 271-6 are omitted in nearly all the best MSS. But they

are in the Vrsinianus which all recent editors allow to be an authority for the text; and the reason of their omission in the rest is clear, the homoiographon *onus* at the end of 270 and 276. If they are an interpolation, how came the interpolator to pitch upon the exact ending for 276 which might both explain and produce this omission from the text? 7. 'The omission makes *et quantum* follow excellently on 270.' Is it part of this 'excellence' that *terra* in 269 will then be repeated by a *terra* three lines below, for which most people would have expected or preferred an *illa*? 8. 'The source of the interpolation is probably Lactantius *Inst.* III 24.' This passage is quoted below, and the reader may compare the diction of the two places and judge himself of the 'probability.'

The object of the poet in our passage is to account for the peculiar shape of the temple of Vesta, for which he says he can give a *causa probanda*. The *temple* is round because the *earth* is round; 269 'terra pilae similis,' 281 'par facies templi.' But he does not stop with this. He inquires further *why* the earth is round. This question and its answer are implicit even in 279, 280 which Peter cannot refuse to accept. It is the round shape of the earth which ensures its equidistance from every part of the universe. And with this question lines 271-6 explicitly deal: but in their traditional form they deal with it unsatisfactorily. To say 'The earth is round and its round shape keeps it in its place and, since it is placed in the centre, being nearer neither to one side nor another ('*et* tangat nullum plusue minusue latus'), were it not round, it would be nearer to one side than another and it would not be at the centre' is to talk incoherently. You cannot assume the earth to be no nearer to one side of the universe than to another and in that same breath consider the hypothesis of its being thus nearer. But the insignificant alteration that I have proposed will set this right. For *et* in 274 read *u t* and all difficulty disappears. 'The earth was designed to be the centre of all things. It has been placed (the perfect *locata sit* has its proper force) at the central point of space that it might not be nearer to one part than to another, and therefore it must be spherical. For if it were not, if it were an unsymmetrical figure, such as a pyramid, it would be nearer to some one side than to another and it would not be a true centre to the universe.' The argument is substantially the same as that of the words in italics in the passage of Lactantius by which the correction is egregiously confirmed.

> existimauerunt rotundum esse mundum, sicut pilam, et ex motu siderum opinati sunt, caelum uolui; sic astra solemque cum occiderint uolubilitate ipsa mundi ad ortum referri. itaque et aereos orbes fabricati sunt, quasi ad figuram mundi, eosque caelarunt portentosis quibusdam simulacris quae astra esse dicerent. hanc igitur caeli rotunditatem illud sequebatur ut terra in medio sinu esset inclusa. *quod si ita esset, etiam ipsam terram globo similem, neque enim fieri posset ut non esset rotundum quod rotundo conclusum teneretur.*

That is: 'The universe is a sphere and the earth is at its centre; and therefore the earth is a sphere. For that must be a sphere which is held and encircled

by a sphere.' This is Ovid's argument here, except that he does not specifically state that the universe is spherical.

Now that the argument of the passage is clear, we may deal with some difficulties of expression. In 267 sq. Ovid gives two reasons for the identity of Vesta and Earth. The first is the ever-living fire (sacrificial and subterranean) that is housed by both. The second is the similarity of shape, the rotundity of both earth and temple: and the pertinence of this must appear in the pentameter. Unfortunately more than one cause has prevented it from being visible. The first is the failure of the editors to observe that *focus* is here what is generally called a proper name, i.e. that it is Vesta or the Vesta-Temple. Peter indeed recognizes that it 'vielfach prägnant den Herd oder das Feuer der Vesta bedeutet z. B. Propert. V (IV) 11. 54).' But far better evidence of this use is furnished by a line a little further on, which he leaves without explanation and which some editors grossly misunderstand.

stat ui TERRA sua: ui stando VESTA uocatur,
causaque par Grai nominis esse potest.
at FOCVS a flammis et quod fouet omnia dictus
qui tamen in primis aedibus ante fuit.

Line 301 can only be understood by those who have forced themselves to realize that the sharp distinction which we mark by the use of capital initials for proper names did not exist for the ancients. The line now before us means that the Hearth (*F*ocus if you like) i.e. the Vesta-temple is so named from the ordinary hearth *on which are flames* and is also derived from *fouere*. This is no doubt puzzling till we reflect that he could not have said '*H*earth is named from *h*earth'; but it is no excuse for the commentator who tells schoolboys that Ovid derives *focus* from *flamma*.

Terra Focusque in line 268 is then the Terra-Vesta being of double name, and *sedem suam* means the proper place of this being, that is the centre of the universe. *Significant* is used in a way for which I have no exact parallel to offer, though it is not a great extension of the general use of the word. We may paraphrase by converting it into 'signa dant sedis suae,' that is she intimates her position, the *signa* given being the rotundity of both earth and temple.

We must make no concession to a modern reader's feelings. He has to accommodate them to the ancient standpoint as best he can. But if certain variants in the MSS. are to be allotted any significance, it is possible that on that ground we should read 'Vesta eadem *es* quae Terra' and in the pentameter *tuam*, an old conjecture of Merkel. The argument will be unaffected.

As the passage has been so much misunderstood, I subjoin a translation which will, I trust, remove any doubt about the details of my interpretation:

> Over this little spot, which now supports the hall of Vesta, was then the great palace of long-haired Numa. The temple's shape how-

ever is said to have been in former times such as it now remains. And there is a good reason underlying this shape. Vesta is the same as Earth. Both shelter unslumbering fires; and on Earth, as on Hearth, is the mark of their place in the world. The Earth, like a ball, with nothing to support it, has its heavy mass poised on the air below.[1] Its very rotundity keeps the globe in equilibrium: it has no corners to depress any one of its parts. Again it has been placed in the central region of all things that it may touch no side more or less than another, but were it not rounded, it would be nearer to one part than another, nor would the universe have the Earth as its central mass. (So by the Syracusan's skill a ball hangs stationary in emprisoned air,[2] a representation in miniature of the immeasurable firmament. Here the earth has been made as far removed from the top as from the bottom; and this is effected by its spherical form.) The configuration of the temple is similar. It has no projecting corners; and a dome protects it from the rainy shower.

[1] *subiecto*. The observer is supposed to be at the centre. Hence the *aer* which surrounds the earth is below it at every point.

[2] The words in *aere clauso* are naturally interpreted of the air inside the glass which according to Claudian *Carm. min.* 51. 1 'Iuppiter *in paruo* cum cerneret aethera uitro' enclosed the model. But inasmuch as some have supposed from the following lines 7, 8 'inclusus uariis *famulatur* spiritus auris | et uiuum certis motibus urget opus' that air (compressed) was the motive power employed, I think my readers may be glad to know the opinion of Professor Turner, Savilian Professor of Astronomy at Oxford, upon this interesting point.

He writes: 'My own view is that it is in the highest degree improbable that air was used as a *motive power* in the model. Such orreries are always moved by hand—cog-wheel work and a handle in modern times; and in early times probably each piece separately turned by hand. It is even difficult to conceive how they *could* be moved by compressed air. The idea in the mind of Ovid *must* have been (in my humble opinion) that Archimedes had managed to support a globe by air pressure from below (and all round it), which is impossible. In other words Ovid and other sightseers were deceived, or imperfectly remembered what they saw. If the globe was hung by a fine wire, or supported on a slender stem (as would be quite natural), it would be easy for a sightseer to overlook the wire and to think that the globe was hung in air. Especially if the glass cover was not easy to see through (? was glass very good in those days?). Moreover Archimedes, who doubtless believed the real Earth we live on to be supported on air in this way, may have exerted his well-known ingenuity to make the model *appear* so; e.g. he may have used a very fine wire intentionally. But in any case it must have been a "fake."'

The orrery of Archimedes is discussed by Sir G. C. Lewis, *Historical Survey of the Astronomy of the Ancients*, p. 194, where besides the two verse passages already cited reference is made to Cic. *Rep.* 1. 14, *N.D.* II. 35, Plutarch *Marcell.* 28, Val. Max. 1. 1. 8, Sextus Empiricus *Adu. Dogm.* III. § 115 (Bekker), Lactantius *Diu. Inst.* II. 5, and Martianus Capella VI. § 583 (ed. Kopp) and by the writers of the papers cited in Wissowa-Pauly's *Real-Encyclop.* under the article *Archimedes*.

J. P. Postgate.

ON THE MEANING OF *PLOXINVM.*

Catullus 97. 5-6.

dentis os sesquipedalis,
gingiuas uero ploxini habet ueteris.
(ploxini *Festus*, *Mueller p.* 230: plox(o)nio *codd.*)

Catalepton 10. 21-23.

neque ulla uota semitalibus deis
sibi esse facta, praeter hoc nouissimum—
paterna lora p*loxini*que pectinem.

(ploxinique *scripsi*:[1] proximumque *codd.* buxinumque *Salmasius*).

Quintilian I. 5. 8.

Catullus ploxenum circa Padum inuenit.

Festus (Muell.) p. 230.

ploxinum appellari ait Catullus capsum in cisio capsamue, cum dixit 'gingiuas uero ploxini habet ueteris.'

Paulus ib. p. 231.

ploxinum capsam dixerunt.

Scaliger, on Festus *l.c.*, explains *ploxinum*=capsa as equivalent to the Homeric πείρινς, the carriage-basket, which was in fact the body, of the ἅμαξα—the motorist's 'chassis': and in this he seems to be followed by commentators upon Catullus generally. Ellis' note, Catull. 97. 6, does the best possible for this interpretation. But most readers of Catullus will still feel an uneasy suspicion that some finer point has become obscured.

Oscar Wilde somewhere describes one of his characters as 'looking like a badly-bound hymn-book': and of another character elsewhere he says that 'she looked like an édition-de-luxe of a French novel.' In both cases the point of the comparison (in the first, decayed and untidy piety; in the second, flaunting lasciviousness) is perfectly obvious. But when Catullus is made to

[1] My first correction was *ploxenum atque pectinem*. My present one coincides with one which I understand had already occurred to Dr. Postgate.

say that Aemilius has 'teeth six feet long and gums like those of an old carriage-frame,' the point of the comparison is so far from being perfectly obvious that what *is* perfectly obvious is that 'hymn-book,' or 'French novel,' or 'flying machine,' or any other ληκύθιον ἀπώλεσεν, would be quite as appropriate as 'carriage-frame,' *unless* it could be shown either (*a*) that Aemilius has some peculiar connexion with carriages, or (*b*) that carriage-frames have teeth and gums, or something like them.

I will try to make it probable that carriage-frames—or at any rate *ploxina* —in the time of Catullus, and later, *had* teeth and gums. I hope to show at the same time that there is no new thing under the sun, and that the taximeter cab, which we still think something of a novelty in the streets of London, was a familiar object two thousand years ago on the muddy roads between Brescia and Mantua.

Festus identifies *ploxinum* with *capsa* (*capsus*) in cisio. Capsus is recognized as a (part of a) carriage by Isidore, *Orig.* XX. 12. 7, 'carruca undique contecta, quasi capsa.' Hesychius has an obscure note καψοί· οἱ τοῖχοι, where it would be possible, I suppose, to take τοῖχοι of the *sides* of a carriage (Salmasius here, however, connects καψοί with κάπτω). Suidas glosses κάψα by κίστη ἢ θήκη, which has, perhaps, no connexion with carriages at all. Walde derives the word from the root of *capio*; A. Mau from that of κάμπτω (*capsa* = κάμψα), in agreement perhaps with Scaliger's identification of *capsa* with πείρινς. But more helpful than either the lexicographers or the philologists is a passage of Vitruvius (*De Arch.* 10. 14), of which I will give here the substance. 'Let your carriage,' says Vitruvius, 'have a wheel four feet in diameter, each revolution of the wheel thus covering twelve feet of ground. Fix to this wheel, on the inner side, a *tympanum*, a small drum-wheel, having on its circumference a single projecting tooth (*extantem denticulum unum*). *Above this, fix on to the* capsus *a bracket* (loculamentum) *with a second tympanum perpendicular to the first* (in cultro collocatum) *having round its edges* 400 *teeth at regular intervals so arranged as to catch the tooth of the lower tympanum, as well as a single tooth projecting beyond these. Over this, on another bracket, fix horizontally* (planum) *yet another tympanum in such a way that its teeth catch the single projecting tooth of tympanum no. ii.* ('Insuper autem *ad capsum redae* loculamentum firmiter figatur habens tympanum uersatile in cultro conlocatum et in axiculo conclusum: in cuius tympani fronte *denticuli* perficiantur aequaliter diuisi, numero CCCC, conuenientes *denticulo* tympani inferioris. Praeterea superiori tympano ad latus figatur alter *denticulus prominens extra dentes*. Super autem tympanum planum eadem ratione *dentatum* inclusum in altero loculamento conlocatur, conuenientibus *dentibus denticulo* qui in secundi tympani latere fuerit fixus.') The horizontal tympanum is to have a number of *foramina* in it each containing a pebble or counter (*calculus*): and its *loculamentum* or bracket is to have a single *foramen* with a pipe through which the pebbles, as they come to the single *foramen*, can drop '*in redae capsum* et uas

aeneum quod erit suppositum ?'[1] Vitruvius then goes on to calculate how, as the carriage-wheel drives round the three *tympana*, each of the pebbles discharged into the capsus will register a mile of journey. It is unnecessary that I should here set out this calculation.

This ingenious contrivance—the parent of the modern cyclometer, taximeter, speedometer—Vitruvius, in the age of Vergil, speaks of as 'rationem . . . a maioribus traditam.' It was no new thing: and carriages furnished with it would be familiar objects on the roads of Italy. I believe that it is these *dentata tympana* which Catullus has in mind when he speaks of Aemilius as having 'gingiuas ueteris ploxeni.' These *dentata tympana* are, in Vitruvius, fastened to brackets which he calls *loculamenta*. Look now at Vegetius, *Ars Vet.* ii. 32 (p. 80 Basel 1574): '*loculamenta* dentium, id est *gingiuae*.' What if the *loculamenta* of the Vitruvian carriage, these brackets with their long *dentes* and rows of *denticuli* (necessarily striking objects), were sometimes in vulgar speech known as *gingiuae ?*

If we turn now to *Catalepton* X., we find that the hero of that clever little piece, Sabinus, is the driver of a *cisium* (l. 3, 'uolantis impetum cisi'). We note in that connexion Festus' description of the ploxinum as 'capsus in *cisio*.' If my conjecture *ploxinique* in l. 23 is right, it would seem not unlikely that Festus actually had *Catalepton* X. in mind. Sabinus is described as *mulio celerrimus*. He is said to fly (uolantis 3, uolare 5). The speed is the whole man. At the close of his career as a driver, he offers to the 'di semitales' his 'hereditary reins' (paterna lora) and the *ploxini pecten*. By the *pecten* I understand the rows of *denticuli* in the *tympana dentata:* cf. Ovid *Met.* 6. 59 'percusso feriunt insecti *pectine dentes*': Prudentius (περὶ Στεφ. 14) actually uses *pecten dentium* of the rows of teeth *in the mouth*. Sabinus dedicates, in fact, his *speedometer*. What could a driver, whose glory was his speed, more appropriately offer to the gods of the roadside ?

It would be tempting to identify the *ploxinum* with the speedometer itself—the mechanism as a whole. But it seems clear from Vitruvius that the *capsus*—with which Festus identifies *ploxinum*—was either, as Scaliger thinks, the body of the *cisium*, or else some kind of box carried at the side. Festus' identification *may*, of course, be false. But the consideration of the philology of the word *ploxinum* seems to point to its being something like the πείρινς. The word is said by Quintilian to belong to the region of the Po: and most scholars are agreed in regarding it as Gallic. On the etymological question I consulted an authority on Celtic philology who was, as I understood him, not satisfied with the account given in Holder (*Alt-Keltische Sprachschatz* i. 1019—to which Walde refers us). Taking the word as plŏxenum (not plōxenum: the quantity of the *o* could only be determined if it were somewhere found with the apex) he connected its first syllable with Celtic *plosc*, reduced to *losc*, 'which seems to occur in an Irish word *loscán*, "a sort of dray, or car without

[1] *Suppositum* means here, I think, not under the *capsus*, but under the pipe (*canaliculus*).

wheels, a sledge" (O'Reilly): the Scotch Gaelic is given as *losgann*.' This suits well with the identification of *capsus* (=*ploxinum*) with πείρινς. *Ploxinum* will then be the body of the *cisium*. The *cisium* was a light carriage employed for speed; and it is perhaps not too much to suppose that, as a carriage for hire, it was (even usually) furnished with such a 'speedometer' as Vitruvius describes. Such phrases as *pecten ploxini*, *gingiuae ploxini* would, in that case, be readily intelligible.

H. W. Garrod.

CALLIMACHVS *IAMBI* 162-170.

THE following verses may be looked upon as an original composition rather than as a restoration, but perhaps they give something of the sense of the passage. Callimachus seems to have said that in the good old days of Cronus all animals alike could talk, as Babrius declares in his prologue; then quadrupeds were deprived of this faculty and birds were (in many cases at any rate) transformed into men, which is the reason that there is such a vast amount of superfluous talking among us.

δίκαιος ὁ Ζεὺς οὐ δίκαια δ' αἰσυμνῶν 162
τῶν ἑρπετῶν μὲν ἐξέκοψε τὸ φθέγμα,
γένος δὲ τοῦτ' ἀνιγρὸν (ὥσπερ οὐ κάρτος
ἡμέων ἐχόντων χἠτέροις ἀπάρξασθαι) 165
ἤμειψ' ἐς ἀνδρῶν· καὶ κενὸς φρενῶν δῆμος
πλείω φιλόψου ψιττακοῦ λελήκασιν·
οἱ δὲ τραγῳδοὶ τῶν θάλασσαν οἰκεύντων
ἔχουσι φωνήν· οἱ δὲ πάντες ἄνθρωποι
καὶ πουλύμυθοι καὶ λάλοι πεφύκασιν. 170

ὁ Ζεὺς and *τὸ φθέγμα* Housman, coll. Lucian *Jup. Trag.* 16 for *ἐκκόπτω φθέγμα.*

'Zeus though just himself ruled unjustly; he deprived quadrupeds of their voice, and turned this tiresome tribe of birds into that of men, as if we were not strong enough ourselves to give of our superfluity to others. Hence the empty-headed rabble scream worse than a greedy parrot, the tragedians wail like sea-mews, and all mankind chatter incessantly.'

There are several curiosities of expression in this; it is hard to believe in *ἀπάρξασθαι*, but there it is in the papyrus, and why is Zeus just while ruling unjustly? For *ἀμείβω εἰς*, 'transform into,' see Stephanus, where several instances are given, all from late writers; the best is Nonnus, *Dion.* ii. 124, *ἐς Ἄρτεμιν εἶδος ἀμείψας.* Or *ἔλεψ'*, as we are talking of birds, would be more amusing; and even less convincing. *φιλόψου* is against the evidence of the papyrus, but how can *φίλοψον* fit in? The epithet just suits the bird. For *θάλασσαν οἰκεύντων* as applied to sea-gulls, Mr. Housman refers me to *frag.* 111, *ἀλλ' ἐμὸς αἰὼν | κύμασιν αἰθυίης μᾶλλον ἐσῳκίσατο.*

ARTHUR PLATT.

MR. AGAR'S *HOMERICA*. REPLY.[1]

I AM afraid I have not made myself understood.

(i) *ι* 209 *ἓν δέπας ἐμπλήσας ὕδατος ἀνὰ εἴκοσι μέτρα χεῦ'.*

To gain support for his alteration of *ὕδατος* into *ὕδωρ*, Mr. Agar discusses the syntax of the whole line. He says that the view that *δέπας* is the object of *χεῦ'* 'leaves *ὕδατος ἀνὰ εἴκοσι μέτρα* without any suitable sense at all.' He therefore reads *ὕδωρ* as object. I remark that 'the sense of *ἀνὰ* is the same with *ὕδωρ* as with *ὕδατος*.' I mean that it is distributive in either case, and therefore does not recommend the alteration. I take the genitive *ὕδατος* to be partitive and directly dependent on *χεῦ'*, like *πάσσε δ' ἁλὸς θείοιο*.

(ii) *η* 129 *ἐν δὲ δύω κρῆναι ἡ μέν τ' ἀνὰ κῆπον ἅπαντα*
σκίδναται, ἡ δ' ἑτέρωθεν ὑπ' αὐλῆς οὐδὸν ἵησι
πρὸς δόμον ὑψηλόν, ὅθεν ὑδραίνοντο πολῖται.

Mr. Agar amends 131 into *πρὸς δόμου ὑψηλοῦ*, and then remarks that 'the accepted interpretation,' namely 'that the second spring flows beneath the courtyard wall, issues again in the centre of the courtyard and forms a piece of ornamental water there' is inconsistent both with the vulgate and with his emendation. He continues 'the fashion of forming artificial ponds, so much followed in later days, is scarcely likely to have been in vogue in primitive times.' I deny all this. Mr. Agar has set up a bogey, his 'ornamental water,' and then knocked it down, to the damage of the verse, which he proceeds on this ground to emend further. I conceive no reason why the *κρήνη* which the goodness of Alcinous provided for his people should not have flowed in his yard. Does Mr. Agar imagine the Mycenaean age too primitive for a fountain?

(iii) *ι* 29 *ἦ μέν μ' αὐτόθ' ἔρυκε Καλυψώ, δῖα θεάων,*
ἐν σπέσσι γλαφυροῖοι, λιλαιομένη πόσιν εἶναι·
ὡς δ' αὖτως Κίρκη κατερήτυεν ἐν μεγάροισι
Αἰαίη δολόεσσα, λιλαιομένη πόσιν εἶναι.

I say 'this verse [30] is absent in most MSS. Mr. Agar condemns it, but unable to do without it, composes another in its place. Its absence is

[1] See *Cl. Quarterly*, iv. pp. 58 sq.

due to homoeoteleuton with 32.' Mr. Agar did not really compose a new verse, he altered v. 29 into *ἦ μέν μ' ἄλλοθ' ἔρυκε*.

(iv) λ 600 *κατὰ δ' ἰδρὼς*
ἔρρεεν ἐκ μελέων, κονίη δ' ἐκ κρατὸς ὀρώρει.

In order to regard *ἐκ κρατός* as a 'wild corruption,' or to emend, as he prefers, *ἄκρου δ' ἐκ κρατός*, Mr. Agar sets up the usual view that *κονίη* means the dust of the stone, and when I point out that 'a loose boulder rolling down a hill does not produce dust' and that *κονίη* is Sisyphus' subtilized perspiration, he calls my view 'very odd and rather improbable.' The facts, I assure him, are as I state them. The steam of battle Mr. Andrew Lang tells me is noticed by Barbour in his Bruce. The only difficulty is the transference of a word meaning 'dust' to 'vapour'; the transference of course, is easy, cf. *ὀμίχλη* (*κονίης—ὀμίχλην* N 336), *nubes*, and Wright, *English Dialect Dictionary* in v. 'Stew.'

(v) σ 158 *τῇ δ' ἄρ' ἐπὶ φρεσὶ θῆκε θεὰ γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη*
κούρῃ Ἰκαρίοιο περίφρονι Πηνελοπείῃ
μνηστήρεσσι φανῆναι, ὅπως πετάσειε μάλιστα
θυμὸν μνηστήρων ἰδὲ τιμήεσσα γένοιτο
μᾶλλον πρὸς πόσιός τε καὶ υἱέος ἢ πάρος ἦεν.

Mr. Agar, doubting *πετάσειε*, writes *ἐτάσειε*. When I say, with some parallels, that tropically *πετάννυμι* means to 'excite,' and adduce the variant *θέλξειε*, he says 'every tiro knows that *θέλγω* means "to put an end to excitement," "to soothe," and not "to stimulate."' Really? I am afraid Homer is not even a tiro:

212 *τῶν δ' αὐτοῦ λύτο γούνατ', ἔρῳ δ' ἄρα θυμὸν ἔθελχθεν,*
πάντες δ' ἠρήσαντο παραὶ λεχεέσσι κλιθῆναι.

The first line gives the *θελκτήριον*, the second the *πέτασις*, and they are the same thing. And Pherecydes too, *Fr.* 102 *a* *Ἀμφίων . . . κατέθελγε καὶ τοὺς λίθους ὥστε καὶ πρὸς τὴν τειχοδομίαν αὐτομάτους ἐπέρχεσθαι.*

(vi) δ 93 *ὥς οὗτοι χαίρων τοῖσδε κτεάτεσσιν ἀνάσσω.*

Mr. Agar wishes to excise this line, which he calls the 'real offender.' He adds that the author of the next line, 93a, 'seems to have seen through the smirking hypocrisy of l. 93, and his caustic addendum might have warned others and turned their suspicions in the right direction.' I say that to see hypocrisy in v. 93 betrays 'a fundamental misapprehension of heroic character,' and *therefore* there is in so far nothing to object to in the line. I may be wrong in my assertion, but this is my argument.

(vii) ζ 273 *τῶν ἀλεείνω φῆμιν ἀδευκέα, μή τις ὀπίσσω*
μωμεύῃ· μάλα δ' εἰσὶν ὑπερφίαλοι κατὰ δῆμον·
καί νύ τις ὧδ' εἴπῃσι κακώτερος ἀντιβολήσας.

All I say here is that when Mr. Agar says 'certainly such a punctuation' [as that here printed] 'fails to convey the least idea that *μάλα—δῆμον* is intended to be regarded as parenthetic,' he betrays an unfamiliarity with Greek punctuation. So he does. There is no way of indicating a parenthesis in Greek except by colons. Dashes are an invention of the modern printer, and worse than inverted commas, which have some kind of tradition.

(viii) *σ* 192 *κάλλεϊ μέν οἱ πρῶτα προσώπατα καλὰ κάθηρεν ἀμβροσίῳ.*

In order to recommend his own invention *κάλλεϊ μέν οἱ πρῶτα πρόσωφ' ἁπάλ' ἧκα κάθηρεν*, which I may say without offence no one wants, Mr. Agar attacks first the meaning of *κάλλει*. The view that *κάλλος* here cannot mean 'beauty' I suppose rests on a disinclination to join an abstract noun with a concrete verb, and a disbelief that such a union was possible in Homer. There can be no other reason, for the scholiast's assertion *νῦν τὰ μύρα* is unsupported. To get round the objection I quote from the lexica Γ 392 *κάλλεϊ τε στίλβων καὶ εἵμασιν*, *ζ* 237 *κάλλεϊ καὶ χάρισι στίλβων*, which seem decisive, for it is no harder to say 'wash in immortal beauty' than 'glisten' or 'trickle with beauty and graces.' The objection appears to me another case of the tendency to make Homer, his age and his language, much too primitive.

T. W. Allen.

SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS.

GENERAL.

Hermathena. Vol. 15. No. 35. 1909.

[*The Tercentenary of the Birth of Milton*, Clara Michell. A poem awarded the Vice-Chancellor's for English Verse 1908.] *Emendations in Cicero's* Epistles, T. G. Tucker. [*Notes on the Architectural History of Trinity College*, J. P. Mahaffy.] *A Fragment from Aristotle*, John I. Beare. A portion of his tract on Memory, in a form fitting it for comparison with the corresponding work of modern empirical psychologists. *Notes on the Nineteen Larger Declamations ascribed to Quintilian*, Robinson Ellis. *On a passage in Euripides'* Hypsipyle, J. P. Mahaffy. *The Latin Writers of Mediaeval Ireland*, Mario Esposito. Supplement to a paper in *Hermathena* 1907. *Analecta Varia*, the same. [*O'Cleary's Glossary* (II.), E. J. Gwynn. *On Transfinite Numbers and some Problems relating to the Structure of Actual Space and Time*, Reginald A. P. Rogers.] *Corrections of Horace* Satires *Book II*, and *an Emendation of the* Culex, 368, J. P. Postgate. *Laud's Manuscript of Apuleius*, L. C. Purser. *Remarks on Tucker's Emendations in Cicero's Epistles*, R. Y. Tyrrell. Reviews, including long and detailed ones of Ellis's *Appendix Vergiliana* by L. C. P. and of Bywater's *Aristotle on the Art of Poetry* and Ross's *Metaphysics* by J. I. B.

Classical Philology. Vol. 4. No. 1. 1909.

Studies in the Grouping of Nouns in Plautus, Henry W. Prescott. *Finger-Counting among the Romans in the Fourth Century*, Edward A. Bechtel. *On Certain Supposed Literary Relationships*, I, Campbell Bonner. *The Book Division of Propertius*, B. L. Ullman. *The Verbal in -τεο in Polybius*, Hamilton Ford Allen. *Studien zur Topographie von Paestum*, Th. Kluge. *An Archaic Boeotian Inscription*, Carl Darling Buck. Notes and Discussions. *On Thucydides II.* 15. 4, Paul Shorey. *Some Classical Quotations from the Middle Ages*, Tenney Frank. *Note on Eur.* Alc. 290 ff., W. A. Heidel. *On the Hypothesis to Antiphon*, 2β, F. M. Foster. *Note on Diogenes Laertius* IV. 59, Paul Shorey. Reviews.

No. 2.

The Archetype Codex of Valerius Maximus, W. M. Lindsay. *A Chapter in the Story of Roman Imperialism*, Tenney Frank. *The Iambic Trimeter in Menander*, John Williams White. *Lucian the Sophist*, Emily James Putnam. *The Literary Criticism in the Bibliotheca of Photius*, La Rue Van Hook. *Additions and Corrections to* C. I. L., B. L. Ullman. Obituary Notice. John Henry Wright, B.P. Notes and Discussions. *Caesar's Battle with the Helvetians*, Walter Dennison. *Pliny* Ep. II. 12. 4, E. T. M. *On Aristotle* De part an. IV. 15, Paul Shorey. *Note on Polybius* XXX. 23. 3, Allan C. Johnson. Reviews.

No. 3.

Vulgar Latin in the Ars Consentii de Barbarismis, Frank Frost Abbott. *The Influence of Meter on the Homeric Choice of Dissyllables*, John A. Scott. *The Temporal* Cum-*Clause and its Rivals*, J. J. Schlicher. *On Certain Supposed Literary Relationships*, II, Campbell Bonner. *The Use of the* OE-*Diphthong in Plautus*, Andrew W. Anderson. *The Latin Accusatives* Mēd, Tēd, etc., Edwin W. Fay. Notes and Discussions. *The International Congress of Archaeologists*, C. L. Ransom. *The Simple Past Condition with Potential Indicative in Apodosis*, Grace Harriet Macurdy. *Propertius* II. xii. 18, J. S. Phillimore. ΚΑΟΤΟΠΕΥΕΙΝ, A. G. Laird. *Marginalia on the Hellenistic Poets*, Henry W. Prescott. ΕΥΓΓΕΝΗΣ 'ΟΦΘΑΛΜΟΣ, *Emendation of Crates* epist. XIX, Paul Shorey. Reviews.

No. 4.

Propertius and the Arae Perusinae, A. L. Frothingham. *The Meanings of* ΚΥΤΟΣ, James Turney Allen. *Early Mediaeval Commentaries on Terence*, E. K. Rand. *The Composition of the* De Oratoribus Antiquis *of Dionysius*, Ralph Hermon Tukey. *Studies in the MSS of the Third Decade of Livy*, F. W. Shipley. *The City of Servius and the Pomerium*, Elmer Truesdell Merrill. Notes and Discussions. *Aeschylus* Fr. 207 *and the Satyr Chorus*, Paul Shorey. *Emendation of Augustine* De Civ. Dei II. 27, Tenney Frank. *Note to* Iliad A 446, John A. Scott. *The Archaic Boeotian Inscription again*, C. D. B. Short Index to vol. 4.

American Journal of Philology. Vol. 30. No. 1. 1909.

Stahl's Syntax of the Greek Verb, Third Article, Basil L. Gildersleeve. *On the text of Menander's* Epitrepontes *with notes on the* Heros, Edward Capps. *Aphrodite and the Dione Myth*, George Depue Hadzsits. *Propertius* III. 24, B. O. Foster. *Latin Inscriptions at the Johns Hopkins University* II, Harry Langford Wilson. *Effect of Sigmatism as shown in Homer*, John A. Scott. Reviews. *Schroeder's* Mysterium und Mimos im Rigveda, M. Bloomfield. W. Thomson's *Basis of English Rhythm* etc. and Omond's *Metrical Rhythm*, T. B. Rudmose-Brown. Abicht's *Herodotus*, G. E. Howes. Summaries of Periodicals. Brief mention: Reik's *Der Optativ bei Polybius und Philo von Alexandria*, Schlachter's *Statistical Studies* on Greek tenses and moods, Moulton's *Prolegomena to the Grammar of the New Testament*, Osler's *Counsels and Ideals*, Rees' *The So-called Rule of Three Actors in the Classical Greek Drama*, Schroeder's text of Pindar and Krumbacher on a New Greek Thesaurus, the Editor. Traube's *Zur Palaeographie und Handschriftenkunde*, G. L. H.

No. 2.

Synthesis Doliolorum Dresseliana, Edwin W. Fay. On the Duenos Inscription. *Classical Scholarship in Medieval Iceland*, Tenney Frank. *Latin Inscriptions at the Johns Hopkins University* III., Harry Langford Wilson. *Duplication by Dissimilation* (in Polynesian), William Churchill. *The Meaning and Etymology of the Girnār Word* Sāmīpam, Truman Michelson. *The Soma Offering in a Fragment of Alkman*, Winifred Warren Wilson. Charity that Begins at Home (on this proverb in Classical writers), W. A. Heidel. Reviews: Prentice's *Greek and Latin Inscriptions from Syria* (David M. Robinson). Boesch's *De Apollonii Rhodii elocutione.* Huelsen's *Roman Forum.* Schelling's *Elizabethan Drama.* Summaries of Periodicals. Brief Mention: Dalmeyde's *Bacchae* of Euripides, Sandys's ed. of Jebb's *Theophrastus*, Ludwich's *Homerischer Hymnenbau*, the Editor.

No. 3.

Later echoes of the Greek Bucolic Poets, Wilfred P. Mustard. [Linguistic notes on the Shāhbāzgarhi etc., Truman Michelson.] *Notes on Latin Syntax*, Emory B.

Lease. *Cross-Suggestion. A form of Tacitean Brachylogy*, George Dwight Kellogg. Reviews. *Recent Literature on Ancient Animal Names and Effigies*, C. R. Eastman. D'Ooge's *Acropolis of Athens*, D. M. Robinson. Summaries of Periodicals. Brief Mention: Bithell's *the Minnesingers*, Mutzbauer's *Grundlagen der griechischen Tempuslehre*, vol. 2, Rutherford's *Scholia Aristophanica*, the Editor. Maurice's *Numismatique Constantinienne*, H. L. W.

Revue de Philologie. Vol. 32. No. 4. 1908.

Hermes Trismegistos, Sacred Book on the Decana, C. E. Ruelle. Text variants and French Translations of this astrological treatise. *Observations on Plautus* (continued), Louis Havet. On *Merc.* 305, 496-7, 566-70, [602], 806, *Mil.* 24, 37, 77, 221, 223, 240, 262, 427, 450-1, 483-4, 603, 606, [620], 628-9, 645, 650, 657, 660, 693, 707, 720-1, 754, 762, 777a, [790, 791, 830], 848, 852, (888). *On the use of the writing* st = est, J. Marouzeau. There are traces of a faulty substitution of *st* for *est* in the MSS of Plautus, and special considerations have to be had in regard. I. If the writing of *st* or *est* is indifferent to a copyist, he may use the shorter form where space is wanted, as at the end of a particularly long line. Hence barbarous forms like *quidst* (*Merc.* 285 A.). II. *st* is specially frequent before a stop and at the end of a verse. III. *est* is used after a break in the sense. IV. When preceding its attribute. V. When repeating a previous expression. *On some passages of Cicero's letters*, Georges Ramain. *Att.* I. 14. 2-3, l. excepisse laudem *de me* ex eo quod *nihilominus* suspicarentur homines etc. *Fam.* I. 9, 23, *Alt.* V. 15. 3 l. sim annuus, V. 21. 1 l. *nunc* spero, ib. 12 l. contentus *non* erat, VI. 2. 7 l. creberrimis *litteris*, *Fam.* VIII. 16. 2 place a comma after *cogamur* and a full stop after *habeamus*, V. 21. 2 l. quauis *statuta* condicione, XVI. 21. 2 for *uellès* l. *uellem*.

Vol. 33. No. 1. 1909.

'Αστὴρ—γενόμην, Bernard Haussoullier. On an Inscription found at Amorgos. *Inscriptions of Chios and Erythrae*, the same. *Plorare, explorare*, H. de la Ville de Mirmont. *plorare* is much stronger than *flere* and implies the *noisy* manifestation of grief or pain; *explorare* expresses the noise that scouts (*exploratores*) make in beating the country. *The formal accession of Tiberius*, Philippe Fabia. Analysis of the account in Tacitus *Annals* I 11-13. *Three unpublished letters of Villoison*, Jules Nicole. Three interesting letters to Senebier, the librarian of Geneva. *Christian Inscriptions from Egypt*, D. Serruys. On M. Grégoire's theory of a 'Christian era' for Nos. 596 and 597 in Lefebvre's *Recueil des Inscriptions grecques-chrétiennes d'Égypt*. *Note* (assenting to the above), H. Grégoire. *Notes on certain Parisian MSS of Byzantine Histories*, D. Serruys. On MSS of Theodoret, Nicephoros Kallistos Xanthopoulos, Georgius Hamartolos, Simeon Logothetes, Hippolytus of Thebes, Nicephoros Gregoras, Polyaenus. Reviews.

Nos. 2 and 3.

Onirocriticon *of the prophet Daniel dedicated to King Nebuchadnezzar*, E. de Stoop. Text, varia lectio and prolegomena of a dream-book arranged alphabetically, e.g. Οὐρανὸν χάμαι πίπτοντα ἰδεῖν ἐμπόδιον πραγμάτων δηλοῖ. *Donatist Epigraphy*, Paul Monceaux. The inscriptions examined show all the prominent features of Donatism 'Autorité souveraine des évêques, vénération dévote pour les chefs de communauté, idéal évangelique, obstination à rejeter la communion catholique, prééminence du martyre.' *A passage of the LXX in Parisinus* 284 1 (palimpsest part), C. E. Ruelle. Rare variants in Job 42. 11 sqq. *The date of Seneca's Voyage to Egypt*, H. de la Ville de Mirmont. The evidence tends to show it was 39. *Seven unpublished letters of Villoison, Genet, Hennin Senebier and the Iliad MS Genevensis* 42, Charles Joret. Reviews.

No. 4.

A new Manuscript of the Divisiones Aristoteleae, Pierre Boudreaux. On Par. 39 which will be a useful supplement to Marcianus 257. *Aristotle* Probl. Phys. IV 13, C. E. Ruelle. For ἃ αἴρουσι (p. 878 and 14-15) the oldest MS has ἃ φέρουσι. Read ἃ ἀφαιροῦσιν. *Observations on Plautus* (continued), Louis Havet. On *Miles* 894 (914), 917-19, 1005, 1038, 1054, 1062, 1066, 1071, 1080, 1138, (1168), 1177, 1178, 1190, 1192, 1197, 1204-7, 1276, 1279, (1308), 1313-4, 1315, 1357, 1358, 1380, 1384, 1388, 1389, 1398, (1402), (1408), 1411-2, 1413 and 1421, 1426. *Eunomios Tachygrapher*, L. Parmentier. Εὐνομίου is to be replaced in Theodoret *Hist. Eccl.* IV 18. 7. *Note on a new fragmentary MS of Theodoret's* Ecclesiastical History (*Par. Suppl. gr.* 1248), the same. *The Magic in the Fourth Aeneid*, René Pichon. The pertinacity and elaboration with which Dido carries out the magical rites that cloke her suicide precludes the explanation that these are no more than a feint. It is improbable that V. introduced them into the account simply to gratify his readers. Rather he had some warrant in the representations of art or, more probably, in literary tradition in which Dido was depicted as a sorceress. There are other traces of the same thing. E.g. the words of Dido to Anna 421 sqq. may be a reminiscence of another tradition, mentioned by Servius, which V. did not adopt, that it was *Anna* and Aeneas who were the lovers. *The papyri of the LXX*, Gustave Bardy. List and comments. *On a passage of the Elder Pliny*, Eusèbe Vassel. In *N.H.* VII ii 8 *laudatio* is to be taken in its literal sense. According to a superstition still current in Tunis praise induces misfortune. *On the assignment of replies and the order of words in certain passages of Plautus*, Georges Ramain. On *Amph.* 794 sq., *Cas.* 402-5, *Curc.* 487 sqq., *Poen.* 313-6, *Ps.* 349 sq., *Trin.* 1155. Reviews.

Mnemosyne. 38. 1. 1910.

K. Kuiper, *De discrepantiis hymni Homerici in Mercurium.* Thinks, in opposition to Hermann, Seeck, and Robert, that the hymn is the work, not of diasceuasts, but of one poet. Discusses the geography of the episode of the stolen cattle, and the episode of the invention and presentation to Apollo of the lyre. J. J. H., *Ad Plutarchum.* In *Quom. adul.* 74 A read κρακτική for πρακτική; in *Praec. reip. ger.* 820 D read τὴν πολιτείαν for πολιτείας. P. H. Damsté, *Adn. ad Aeneidem* (from 26. 181). Further remarks on 7. 577, 624, 8. 627. Emendations in 10, 11, 12: 10. 186 (*Cycnie transierim*), 362 sqq. (transpose 364, 5), 661-2 to follow 688 (*poscens* for *poscit*), 688 (*et ratis* for *et patris*), 880 (*pangimus* for *parcimus = pactione tutelam mihi firmare uolo*); 11. 438 (*omnis* for *animis*), 439 (*Paris* for *paria*), 640 sqq. (transpose the first halves of 642 and 644); 12. 54 (*secum* for *sese*), 173 (*tergora* for *tempora*), 444 (*caelo* for *caeco*), and other passages. *Longo* in 10. 769 defended. Idem, *Ad Hor. Sat.* 2. 6. 46. Defends Orelli's interpretation against Mueller's, but would read *deponantur* (for *-untur*). H. v. H., *Tentatur locus Aristophanis. Ach.* 339: αὐτίχ' ὁποίῳ for αὐτὸν ὅτι τῷ. J. H. Leopold, *Ad gnomologium Epicureum Vaticanum.* Emendations. S. A. Naber, *Animaduerss. crit. ad Dionem Chrysostomum.* Emendations. J. Vürtheim, *De Soph. Philoct.* vs. 388. Sophocles alludes to Socrates here, and in *Antig.* 726 sqq. (cp. *Apol.* 21) and 1113 sqq.

38. 2. 1910.

P. H. Damsté, *Notulae criticae ad Sil. Ital.* (continued). 5. 43 (*receptos*), 175 (*agnoscens*), 191 (*cum ductor*, etc., with full stop at *malo*, not *Tyrius*), 370 (*saeuaque*), 451 (*trepidus*); 6. 22 (*actis*), 33 (*morte*: 'corpse of one of the foe, lying hard by'), 117 (*aethera aceruantem*), 186 (*primum*), 215 (*consequitur* iuxta), 308 (*duram*), 391 (*artis*), 560 (*at Latiae*); 7. 223 (*seruari*), 380 *uestigia* Poeni), 555 (*aeternum*); 8. 121 (read in the order 121, 123, 122, with *dirus—horror* as a parenthesis), 301 (*proelia* plura), and

other corrections or defence of the MSS. J. J. H., *Ad Plutarchum.* In *Quom. quisq. suos in uirtute sentiat prof.* 77 F for τρέποντας read στρέφοντας. J. W. Bierma, *Ad Plauti Rudentis uu.* 1169 *sq.* Give the whole of 1170 to Gripus, and in 1169 read *post illic sicula argenteola et duae conexae maniculae.* A. Poutsma, *Ad Horatium.* Defends *rimosa* in *Sat.* 2. 6. 46. K. Kuiper, *De Admeto Messeniaco.* Evidence of the connexion of A. with ancient cults belonging to the Peloponnese. J. J. H., *Ad Taciti Germ.* 7. Read *exempli . . . imperii:* the genitives will depend on *admiratione.* A. I. Kronenberg, *Ad Epictetum.* Emendations. J. J. H., *Ad Ouidium.* In *Pont.* 4. 12. 3. read *aut* for *namque* (m^2 has *ast*). J. J. Hartman, *Ann. crit. ad Plutarchi opera.* Critical notes, emendations and queries to the Theseus, Romulus, Lycurgus, Numa, Solon, Publicola, Themistocles, Camillus. J. v. Wageningen, *Scriba.* Explains *aliud scriptum habet Sarmentus, aliud populus uoluerat* (Schol. on Juv. 5. 3) as a joke on the phrase *scriptum habere* = (1) be a scribe (2) to be branded (as a runaway). Then explains Hor. *Sat.* 1. 5. 66 to mean 'as for your claiming scriptum (quaestorium) habere, we all know what this *scriptum* means, viz. that you're a runaway slave.' H. v. Herwerden, *Ad Menandrea.* Emendations, etc., based on text of Koerte's larger edition.

Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum, etc. 25. 1. 1910.

H. Diels, *Die Anfänge der Philologie bei den Griechen.* Deals chiefly with the philological tendencies of Hdt., but also contrasts the attitude of Heraclitus (who sees in the similarity of the sound of βίος and βιός an outward token of his theory that Life and Death are really one) and Hecataeus with that of Parmenides and the atomists, who consider that words have nothing to do with the things they represent, but are based on conventional invention (νόμος, not φύσις). A. Brueckner, *Der Friedhof am Eridanos zu Athen.* Reconstruction of the tombs of Dexileos, of the brothers Agathon and Sosicrates, and of Dionysios of Collytos: interpretation of the Coroebus group of monuments. O. F. Walzel, *Das Prometheussymbol von Shaftesbury zu Goethe. Anzeigen,* etc.: F. Boll, *Der Ursprung des Wortes Syphilis.* Derived from Syphilus, the hero of Fracastoro's poem. F. got the name from Sipylus: the Niobe episode of Ov. *M.* 6 inspired his third book; and not only is Niobe connected with Mount Sipylus, but one of her sons bears the name in Ov. *M.* 5. 231.

25. 2. 1910.

O. Crusius, *Über das Phantastische im Mimus.* Examines the fragments of Sophron, the mimes of Herondas, the mimic poems of Theocritus, the fragments of the Latin mime, and two Oxyrhynchus farces, and comes to the conclusion (against Reich) that the marvellous and fantastic plays only a subordinate part in the ancient mime—entering it mainly through the narrow gates of the Dream and Superstition. A. von Salis, *Die Ausgrabungen in Milet und Didyma.* Describes the remains of the theatre, the temple at Didyma, the two Thermae, Markets, the Bouleuterion. Dimensions of the old city which the Persians captured much greater than those of the new one. Seven plates, and illustrations in the text. O. F. Walzel, *Das Prometheussymbol von Shaftesbury zu Goethe.* Continued from Part I. *Anzeigen,* etc.: F. Boll, *Zum Ursprung des Wortes Syphilis.* Notes that the mountain is sometimes spelt *siphyl-, syphil-, siphil-* in MSS. and old edd.

25. 3. 1910.

O. Schroeder, *Über altgriechische Volksliedstrophen.* Greek variations of the old Indo-Germanic rising, four-arsis line. The catalectic form, in which the last two syllables are in arsis, the fourth thesis being apparently suppressed, is probably the oldest. On the other hand in the Aeolic eight-syllable line the catalectic form is an innovation, caused by the resemblance of one form of it to a form of the four-arsis

line. In the Sapphic, Hephaestion's analysis is correct: two trochees, choriambus, bacchiac. The Adonic is a catalectic three-arsis line. J. Kromayer, *Die Schlacht am Trasimenischen See.* In favour of the Passignano-Torricella site. Map, and illustrations. H. Windisch, *Das Neue Testament im Lichte der neu gefundenen Inschriften, Papyri und Ostraka.* Mainly an account of Deissman's *Licht vom Osten*, but disputes D.'s view that the Pauline letters belong to the non-literary class, maintaining that such letters as *Colossians, Ephesians and Romans* are a cross between the simple Letter and the literary Epistle. *Anzeigen und Mitteilungen:* A. Döring's *Geschichte der griech. Philosophie* summarized and praised by F. Erhardt, A. v. Domaszewski's *Geschichte der röm. Kaiser* noticed by H. Peter.

[26. 3. P. Cauer, *Die homerische Frage im Unterricht.*]

25. 4. 1910.

H. v. Arnim, *Kunst und Weisheit in den Komödien Menanders.* In his diction combines unity and beauty of style with the multiplicity of expression demanded by the principles of Drama. Richness in maxims. His characters are 'typical,' and yet 'individual.' Excels in the humour which makes us laugh one moment and shed a tear the next: he knows, and loves, man's nature. F. Koepp, *Pergamenische Skulpturen.* Based on vol. 7 of the 'Altertümer von Pergamon' (*Die Skulpturen mit Ausnahme der Altarreliefs*). Three plates and an illustration in the text. M. Siebourg, *Horaz und die Rhetorik.* H.'s references to the impartiality of death remind us of the commonplace of the *Consolationes;* in *Od.* 1. 27 the first stanza is there because it was the rule in these works, not to reproach, at the very outset, the mourner for his weakness; the speeches in the Odes are rhetorical: that of Regulus in 3. 5 may be compared with parts of Quint. Decl. 339; *Epist.* 1. 2 is full of maxims, some of which are very like some of Publilius' iambics: we know from the elder Sen. how dear to the declamation-schools were such *sententiae.* K. Dieterich, *Zum Gedächtnis an Karl Krumbacher. Anzeigen und Mitteilungen:* P. D. C. Hennings, *Die Heimat der Phäaken.* Ischia, not Corfu; K. Sudhoff's *Ärtzliches aus griechischen Papyrus-Urkunden* described by J. I.

Rheinisches Museum. 65. 1. 1910.

W. Bannier, *Weitere Bemerkungen zu den attischen Rechnungs- und Uebergabeurkunden.* F. Jacoby, *Tibulls erste Elegie.* 3. The erotic part of the poem a mere cento from Propertius (I. 6, 17, and 19) and Comedy. 4. The picture from 59 onwards is drawn from city life, and suits ill the bucolic setting of the previous lines. Tib. could not help himself: he was writing elegy, not bucolic poetry. Similarly in II. 1 *Amor* has to be thrust in among the *ruris dei.* 5. Tib. might have succeeded in bucolic or even satiric poetry: for elegy he had no gift. T. Stangl, *Bobiensia.* Conjectures, etc. U. Hoefer, *Apollodoros περὶ γῆς.* Against Niese's view that Scymnus' Periegesis is little more than an abridged and slightly altered reproduction of the work points out the direct use by him of Ephorus and his frequent agreement with Strabo, whom N. himself does not believe to have used the περὶ γῆς. T. Steinwender, *Zur Schlachtordnung der Manipulare.* Describes what he believes to have been the ordinary procedure for getting the troops into position. *Aciem instruere* means to get the heavy troops into the frame formed by *Velites* and *Equites.* The five standards of Plin. N. H. 10. 4. 16 were connected with the Servian classes. A. Brinkmann, *Aus dem antiken Schulunterricht.* Theon (*Spengel*, 101. 3 sqq.) shows that in his day the method for teaching the use of the cases exemplified in Kenyon's tablets was employed by the rhetors in conn. with the χρεία. *Miscellen:* T. Gomperz, *Zu Kallimachos.* In 54. 3 read ἦν δ' αὖ σε λάθῃ ποτὲ καί μιν ἀπαιτῇς. W. Crönert, *Die beiden ältesten griech. Briefe.* Text, commentary, translation.

65. 2. 1910.

J. H. Lipsius, *Didaskalika.* Supports against Capps the view that in the lists the dramatist's name was inserted only when he had acted as διδάσκαλος. H. v. Herwerden, *Commentatiuncula quinta ad Libanii ed. Foersterianam.* Emendations on vol. 5. A. Elter, *Zu Hierokles dem Neuplatoniker.* His περὶ προνοίας started with a dedicatory epistle to Olympiodorus, with a general account of the plan and object of the work, at the end of which came a table of contents showing the subject of each of the seven λόγοι that followed. Photius' description in cod. 214 is based entirely on this preliminary part of the book: in his excerpts (cod. 251) he has drawn also upon the first three λόγοι. E. Bethe, *Minos.* Attemps to ascertain the historical bases of the legend of M. Originally a bull worshipped as a god, then gradually declines to the position of a hero. The war between M. and Nisus represents the war between two neighbouring tribes on the coast of Megara. In the Minotaur story we see Theseus free Athens from the rule of Minos by conquering him *on Attic territory.* For this victory of T.'s is identical with that over the Minos bull at the Attic Marathon, and indeed he has no connexion with Crete. Ariadne herself has no festival there, though she is honoured in the *Oschophoria* at Athens. E. Bickel, *De Manilio et Tiberio Caesare.* M.'s Caesar is Tiberius. In 4. 776 follow M., but emend *meus* (too familiar) and *orbem*, reading *qua genitus Caesarque deus nunc possidet urbem.* For *que* postponed so far cp. 1. 847. T. was born under Libra. In 1. 798 sqq. *Diuum = Julium Caesarem, in coetu* is astronomical = "in conjunction.' Also treats 1. 386 (and, in passing, 242 *sqq*). and 922 *sqq.* Th. Stangl, *Bobiensia.* Emendations to the B.-scholia on *pro Plancio, pro Milone, pro Sestio.* K. Witte, *Ueber die Form der Darstellung in Livius Geschichtswerk.* L.'s genius lies in the description of dramatic episodes. Sometimes the events he handles had already in Polybius a certain 'unity,' in other cases we can trace the art he has used to give it to events which do not in Polybius in any way stand out from his narrative of the events that preceded or succeeded them. *Miscellen:* W. Crönert, *Zu Kallimachos. Ep.* 54. 3 keep *MSS.* reading, except that γιγνώσκειν is needed for γιγνώσκεις; A. Kretschmar, *Quaestio Comica.* Thinks that the fragments in Oxyr. Pap. 6 n. 855 may be from Menander. Exx. of his use of article at end of line; S. Sudhaus, *Aristophanes Acharnen* 490-498. In 494 read ἀνηροῦ τὸ πρᾶγμ'; S. Sudhaus, *Zu Diogenes von Oinoanda.* In fr. 4. l. 13 read Ἀρκεσίλας for Ἀριστοτέλης: Diogenes perhaps found in his original the abbreviation Ἀρκ.; R. Philippson, *Zu Philodem περὶ σημειώσεων.* Account of the *MSS.* readings in certain passages discussed in his paper published in *Rh. Mus.* Jan. 1909; K. Meiser, *Zu Tac. Dial.* 37. For *ut secura uelint* read *ut securam curam uelint;* T. Birt, *Zu Phylenordnung Alexandrias;* G. Mercati, *Quando morì G. Lascaris.* Dec. 7, 1534 (cod. Vat. gr. 2240); A. Brinkmann, *Lückenbüsser,* 8. Emendation of the Ninos romance.

Wochenschrift für Klassische Philologie. 1910.

24 Jan. A. Köster, *Das Pelargikon* (E. Wilisch), favourable. J. Pavlu, *Der pseudoplatonische Kleitophon* (R. Adam), favourable. O. Edert, *Über Senecas Herakles und den Herakles auf dem Oeta* (W. Gemoll). 'A careful and well-founded dissertation.' P. Krenkel, *De codicis Valeriani Carrionis auctoritate* (M. Manitius), favourable. Tacitus, *De vita et moribus Julii Agricolae liber,* ed. E. Hedicke (C. John). 'Meritorious and laborious.' J. J. Schlicher, *The temporal* Cum*-clause and its rivals* (H. Blase). 'Stimulating and interesting, though the results are not satisfactory.' M. Vogel und V. Gardthausen, *Die griechischen Schreiber des Mittelalters und der Renaissance* (W. Schmid). 'A very valuable aid to the investigation of Greek manuscripts.'

31 Jan. O. Nussbaumer, *Die Satzkopula im Indogermanischen* (H. Ziemer), favourable. D. Fimmen, *Zeit und Dauer der Kretischmykenischen Kultur* (A. Wiede-

mann), favourable. R. Pagenstecher, *Die Calenische Reliefkeramik* (P. Goessler). 'Has laid the foundation for further investigation.' E. A. Stückelberg, *Die römischen Kaisermünzen als Geschichtsquellen* (J. Moeller), favourable. L. v. Sybel, *Christliche Antike.* II. *Plastik, Architektur und Malerei* (J. Ziehen), very favourable. R. C. Kukula, *Aphorismen über metrisches Lesen* (H. D.), favourable.

7 Feb. Pauly's *Realencyklopädie der Klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*, herausg. von G. Wissowa. 12 Halbband, *Euxantios—Fornaces* (Fr. Harder). A. W. Mair, *Hesiod, the Poems and Fragments, done into English Prose*, and Hésiode, *Les travaux et les jours*. Par P. Waltz (J. Sitzler), favourable, the English better than the French. S. Ehrenfeld, *Farbenbezeichnungen in der Naturgeschichte des Plinius* (J. Müller), favourable. K. Meister, *De itinerario Aetheriae abbatissae perperam nomini S. Silviae addicto* (Köhler), favourable. P. Herre, *Der Kampf um die Herrschaft im Mittelmeer* (Köhler). 'Very interesting.' F. Nicolardot, *Les procédés de rédaction des trois premiers évangélistes* (C. Rauch), favourable. N. Terzaghi, *Synesiana* (J. Dräseke), favourable.

14 Feb. Στρωματεῖς. *Grazer Festgabe zur* 50. *Versammlung deutscher Philologen* (H. Draheim). W. Eberhart, *Beiträge zur Lösung der Sprachrätsel* (H. Ziemer), unfavourable. *Commentationes Aenipontanae* IV. A. Zingerle, *Übersicht über philologische Handschriften aus tirolischen Bibliotheken.*—G. Müller, *Zur Würdigung Polyaens.*—J. Lechner, *De cod. Aenipontano* 579 *quo continentur Ovidii Remedia amoris* (J. Ziehen). V. Coulon, *Quaestiones criticae in Aristophanis fabulas* (W. Süss), favourable. M. Croiset, *Aristophanes and the Political Parties at Athens.* Transl. by J. Loeb (G. Schneider), very favourable. F. Kahle, *De Demosthenis orationum Androtioneae Timocrateae Aristocrateae temporibus* (G. Schneider), favourable. W. Vollgraff, *Nikander und Ovid.* I. (J. Ziehen). 'Broadens and deepens our view of Nicander.' *Livi a. u. c. libri*, ed. A. Zingerle. VII. 5. Lib. XXXV. Ed. mai. (W. Heraeus), favourable. Apuleius of Madaura, *The Apologia and Florida*, transl. by H. E. Butler (C. W.), favourable.

21 Feb. Τεσσαρακονταετηρὶς τῆς καθηγεσίας Κ. Σ. Κόντου. Φιλολογικαὶ διατριβαί (G. Wartenberg). A. R. v. Kleemann, *Die Stellung der Euthyphron im Corpus Platonicum* (G. Lehnert), favourable. M. v. Kobilinski, *Alter und neuer Versrhythmus* (H. Draheim), unfavourable.

28 Feb. *Aristophanis Pax*, ed. K. Zacher, praefatus est O. Bachmann (E. Wüst), very favourable. G. Tomassetti, *La campagna romana antica, mediovale e moderna.* I. *La campagna romana in genere* (Köhler), favourable. A. Schulten, *Ausgrabungen in Numantia* (R. Oehler), favourable. F. C. Wick, *Vindiciae carminum Pompeianorum* (W. Heraeus). 'Very welcome as showing independent judgment.' H. Linck, *Zur Übersetzung und Erläuterung der Kanones IV, VI, und VII der Konzils von Nicaea* (C. W.), favourable. H. Gelzer, *Byzantinische Kulturgeschichte* (G. Wartenberg), favourable.

NUMISMATICS.

Numismatic Chronicle. Part 3. 1909.

M. P. Vlasto, *On a Recent Find of Coins struck during the Hannabalic Occupation at Tarentum.* An analysis of a hoard of 114 silver coins discovered at Tarentum, and probably buried about 210 B.C. All the specimens are of Tarentum itself, except twelve Metapontine and six Punic coins which, it is suggested, may have been struck at Tarentum under monetary magistrates chosen by Hannibal. It is further suggested that the weight-standard (average, about 3·84 grammes) of these Tarentine and Metapontine coins was based on that of the reduced Roman denarius (3·90 grammes), and these Graeco-Italian pieces are also found to tally with the Punic

drachm, which weighed 3·82 grammes. C. T. Seltman, *A Synopsis of the Coins of Antigonus I. and Demetrius Poliorcetes.* J. G. Milne, *The Alexandrian Coinage of Galba.* An arrangement is attempted by issues. An unpublished billon tetradrachm, figured p. 274, bears on the obverse the name and titles of Galba, accompanying a head that is different from any other Alexandrian heads of this Emperor. Milne suggests that it is a fancy portrait, struck as soon as the news of Galba's accession had reached Alexandria, but before there had been time for an authentic model-portrait to be supplied to the die-engraver. Milne notes the similar invention of an Emperor's likeness in the case of the earliest Alexandrian issues of Vespasian. I may add a parallel in the Byzantine series: the earliest gold coins of the Emperor Heraclius, A.D. 610, bear his name, but a portrait hardly to be distinguished from that of his predecessor Phocas. Now Heraclius had been called in to destroy the tyrant Phocas, and coins were evidently struck in haste, with a fictitious portrait resembling Phocas. When Heraclius was firmly seated on the new throne, a new portrait, evidently that of the Emperor himself, was substituted.

Part 4. 1909.

The greater part of this number is taken up by a long article by Dr. F. P. Weber, entitled *Aspects of Death, and their Effects on the Living, as illustrated by Minor Works of Art, especially Medals, Engraved Gems, Jewels, etc.*, but space has been found for one or two more strictly numismatic articles. C. W. Oman, *The Fifth-Century Coins of Corinth.* Compared with the ever-increasing literature of the Athenian coinage, singularly little has been written about the analogous currency of Corinth. Head's Catalogue of the Corinthian Coins in the British Museum, published in 1889, was the first important contribution to the subject. Oman, in the *Corolla Numismatica*, described various new or neglected specimens, and suggested a chronological arrangement which in the present interesting paper he carries still further. The writer calls attention, at the outset, to the paucity of coins of the period 480-430 B.C., which is the more remarkable because during the greater part of this time Corinth was still the second commercial state in Greece. Probably Corinth, like Athens, continued, for trade reasons, to reproduce coins of archaic style, and purposely ignored the contemporary advance in art. Some coins, then, which at first sight seem to be archaic, may really belong to this period; they may be identified by the occurrence of the letter Koppa both on obverse and reverse. Oman publishes three very beautiful specimens, Plate xxvi., Nos. 4, 5, 6, of the period 451-448 B.C. In a series assigned to 440-443 B.C. there is a strange discrepancy between the archaic Pegasus and the Athena-head of fine style. Were old dies, it is asked, being used up on some emergency? A few attractive historical allusions are suggested. A laurel wreath which exceptionally appears on the helmet of the Athena may relate to the naval victory of the Corinthians at Sybota over the Corcyraeans in 432 B.C. The circlet of dolphins which surrounds (as on the coins of Syracuse) the head of the goddess on coins assigned to 414-412 B.C. may be due to the Corinthian and Syracusan alliance. Considering the stereotyped nature of the coinage of Corinth, this change is certainly remarkable, and we are entitled to read a meaning into it. Finally, Oman inquires into the date of that curious group of staters on which the Pegasus is shown neither running nor walking nor bending down to drink, but standing tied up to a ring by his bridle. The dating is very difficult; perhaps the coins belong to the years 414 B.C. Oman maintains that the meaning of the type is that Pegasus—the national badge—is tied up because he is not allowed to go forth to war—i.e., peace has set in, and he may stay at home; and he suggests, though with diffidence, an allusion to the Peace of Nicias in 421, when Corinth concluded a truce with Athens. *The 'Medallion' of Agrigentum.* The greater part of this article

consists of a paper by Mr. E. J. Seltman which had already appeared in an American numismatic journal, and also, translated into French, in *Le Musée*. It has not therefore the attraction of novelty. In a comment on the paper by Mr. H. A. Grueber he states (p. 364) that he has lately had an opportunity of seeing the 'medallion' (decadrachm) in the Munich Collection, and sees no reason to doubt its genuineness, which had been called in question by M. Sambon.

Revue Numismatique. Part 1. 1909.

J. de Foville, *Les monnaies grecques et romaines de la Collection Valton.* An account of the coins bequeathed by Prosper Valton to the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. Those here illustrated and described are fine pieces of Magna Graecia and Sicily. M. C. Soutzo, *Essai de classification des Monnaies de bronze émises en Égypte par les trois premiers Lagides.* J. G. Gassies, *Moyen bronze inédit de Germanicus.* Reverse type, seated goddess (Vesta). R. Mowat, *Les dégrèvements d'impôts et d'amendes inscrits sur les monnaies impériales romaines.* On coins with inscriptions such as 'Vehiculatione Italiae remissa,' 'Fisci Judaici calumnia sublata.'

Part 2. 1909.

Dieudonné, *Numismatique Syrienne.* (1) Tyre or Antioch? Among the mass of silver tetradrachms of the Imperial age usually assigned to Antioch are some which, as Imhoof-Blumer first showed, belong, from their mint-marks, to other cities of Syria and Phoenicia. Those specimens of Trajan and Hadrian which display an eagle standing on a club have been usually assigned to Tyre, but reasons are here set forth for regarding them as part of the coinage of Antioch. (2) As to the regnal years of Emperors on the coins of Antioch. (3) ΕΠΙ ΚΟΜΟΔΟΥ on a coin of Seleucia in Pieria, dated '188.' The date has hitherto been regarded as equivalent to A.D. 157-158, reckoning from the Actian Era, and 'Comodus' has been identified with C. Julius Commodus Orfitianus, a Roman governor, who is not, however, recorded to have been legatus of Syria. Dieudonné maintains that the date is reckoned from the era of Seleucia, and is thus equivalent to 78-79 A.D. The name of the legatus of Syria for this period is not preserved, but it is suggested that he may have been L. Ceionius Commodus, who is known to have been consul in 78 A.D. This would be the 'Comodus' of the coin. R. Jameson, *Le trouvaille de Milo.* The eight remarkable silver coins of Melos, published in the *Revue Numismatique* for 1908, now prove to be only a selection from larger finds which were made in the island in 1907 and 1908. Seventy-nine of these coins have passed into various collections, among which the British Museum is, I am sorry to say, not at present represented, for the specimens which it had an opportunity of acquiring were either not well preserved or were priced—or so it seemed—too high. Mr. Jameson, who is the fortunate possessor of many of the coins, here gives a description of thirty-one specimens, each photographed in his two plates. The publication of these coins at once raises the island of Melos to a position of numismatic importance hitherto quite unsuspected. (The case of Peparethus is to some extent parallel.) All the coins bear on the obverse the well-known badge of Melos, a pomegranate or, as M. Svoronos maintains, a quince, with the exception of one specimen, which has a vase (ewer) as its type. The reverse types are astonishingly diversified, for, in addition to stars, rosettes, and other ornamental devices, we find a wheel (two distinct types), a triskelis, a crescent, a four-pronged spear, a fig-leaf, an amphora, three dolphins, a ram's head, a Gorgoneion, the head of a youthful Cabirus (?), and even other types, of which a wasp on a bunch of grapes is the most curious. The coins are of the fifth century, probably struck, according to Jameson, between *circa* 476 and 416 B.C., when Melos

was more or less completely independent of Athens. Some specimens are uninscribed, but most have the inscription MAAION, the M being of an early form, and the O figuring as C or U. Jameson thinks that the reverse types may be separated into groups relating to the Cabiri, to Dionysos, etc. One can hardly deny the possibility of such groupings, but, on the whole, the subjects are too many and too varied to admit of this arrangement, and in most cases it seems better (as Macdonald has suggested) to regard each 'type' as a magistrate's signet, like the 'types' on the silver coins of Abdera. J. de Foville describes five Sicilian coins in the Valton Collection.

Part 3. 1909.

J. de Foville describes coins of Continental Greece in the Valton Collection. G. Dattari writes on the Sestertius in the Roman Empire. J. Rouvier has a paper that on the Era of Alexander the Great on coins of Phoenicia. His conclusions are all the cities of Phoenicia used an era of Alexander dating from 333-332 B.C. (the Battle of Issus), and that dates of this era are inscribed on the Alexandrine coinages of Aradus, Sidon, etc. The era was abolished by Ptolemy I., who substituted for it, as the towns became annexed to his realm, the era of 301 B.C.

Part 4. 1909.

Soutzo, *L'U, le Qa et la Mine.* Remarks on an Essay on Assyrian Metrology, published by Thureau-Dangin in the *Journ. Asiatique*, January-February, 1909. Villenoisy and Frémont. *Le carré creux.* On the various forms of incuse square on Greek coins. Dieudonné, *Numismatique Syrienne.* An interesting paper on the 'eagle' coins of Antioch. R. Mowat, *On the Countermark NCAPR* (Nero Caesar Augustus Princeps).

WARWICK WROTH.

THE CLASSICAL QUARTERLY

OCTOBER 1910.

LVCIVS OF MADAVRA: A DIFFICULTY IN APVLEIVS.

EXCEPT Goldbacher[1] and Dee,[2] most critics have held the latter part of the last book of the *Metamorphoses* of Apuleius to be almost entirely autobiographical; and many have taken the same view of the first chapter of the first book. Rohde,[3] in particular, has championed this theory, and incidents of the last book are freely included in biographies of Apuleius.

It is certainly likely that both these parts of the *Metamorphoses*, which refer to the hero's visit to Rome, are Apuleian inventions, not based on an earlier Greek narrative. It must further be admitted that, in these and in other passages, the *Metamorphoses* shows signs of embodying personal reminiscences. We know from the *Florida* and from the *Apologia* that Apuleius, like his hero, was a student at Athens, and that he was initiated into various mysteries in Greece (cf. *Apol.* 55 and 72; *Flor.* 18. 86; 20, 97, etc.; and *Met.* I. 24; III. 15, etc.). We know also (*Flor.* 17. 77) that Apuleius himself visited Rome, and that he spent in travel a considerable patrimony (cf. *Apol.* 23 and *Met.* XI. 28).

Moreover in the *Metamorphoses* Apuleius shows a love of legal phraseology which suggests that the reference[4] to Lucius' practice at the Roman bar may be due to personal recollections. All these points have long been observed.

To conclude from these alone that in the first chapter of the first book and in the last half of the last Lucius is completely identical with Apuleius would be as unwarrantable as to assume a similar identity of Thackeray with Philip or Pendennis, or of Balzac with Eugène de Rastignac or a dozen other characters of the 'Comédie Humaine.' Indeed, it would be far more un-

[1] *Zeitschr. f. Oest. Gymn.* 1872, pp. 323 ff., 403 ff., *Ueber Lucius von Patrae, etc.*

[2] *De Ratione inter Pseudo-Luc. Asin. et Apul. Met.* 1891.

[3] *Rh. Mus.* XL. 1885, p. 66 ff. = *Kleine Schriften* II. p. 43 ff. I quote by the pages of the latter.

[4] But Helm (Teubner edition, pref. to *Flor.* 1910, p. xiii ff.) shows that the sense of *Met.* XI. 28 and 30 is disputable, and that it is very doubtful whether Lucius practised at the bar at all.

warrantable: for at no point in the *Metamorphoses* is there any break in the identity of the hero, and it is difficult to agree with Teuffel,[1] Rohde, and Bürger[2] in supposing that Apuleius hoped to suggest his identity with the pious mystic of the last book without associating himself with the ridiculous adventures of the rest of the story.

Moreover Lucius is not of the same nationality as Apuleius. He is a Greek, and this point is emphasized both in the first chapter of the first book[3] and in the latter part of the last. His birthplace is Corinth.

Nor is there anything in the description of Lucius' circumstances in the latter part of the last book inconsistent with statements or indications in the earlier part of the story. Rohde (*l.c.* p. 56) asserts that Lucius' poverty in the last book is inconsistent with his allusions to distinguished relatives in the earlier books (*e.g.* II. 3 and III. 11), and that his reference to his patrimony (XI. 28) is inappropriate. All the allusions to poverty occur after he has been fleeced by the priests, and there is no reason why he should not have possessed a patrimony. The one reference to his father (I. 23) does not imply that he is alive.

Rohde's assertion (*ibid.*) that Lucius' references to his studies (XI. 27 and 30) fit only Apuleius is mere dogmatism. Lucius of Corinth is a University man, and he seems to have had the Athens manner (I. 20). He meets an old fellow-student at Hypata (I. 24), and Fotis greets his first kiss with the words, 'Heus tu, scholastice, dulce et amarum gustulum carpis' (II. 10). She again alludes to his studies in III. 15, and also to his initiations. As for the details of time and place in the last book, they may well be as imaginary as the far more elaborate indications in *Gulliver's Travels*.

The introduction of a visit to Rome at the beginning and end of the novel is sufficiently explained by Apuleius' desire to adapt a story of Greek adventure to a Latin setting. Both the *Metamorphoses* and the Lucianic Λούκιος ἢ Ὄνος are laid in the Imperial period, so that such a visit is a reasonable invention. No doubt Apuleius welcomed the chance of drawing on his own reminiscences; and the mock-modest apology in the first chapter, though in no way inappropriate to his hero, is of course meant mainly for himself: but there is nothing to suggest the identity of hero and author.

Nevertheless, there is one passage in the last book where the reading of the best MS (F)[4] would seem to imply that in fact the restored Lucius is intended by Apuleius to be in some sense no other than himself. I have left this passage to the last, in order to make it clear that the case really stands or falls on it alone; and that, apart from this, there is no sufficient ground for closely identifying author and hero in any part of the *Metamorphoses*.

[1] *Studien u. Charakt.* II. 572 ff.

[2] *De Lucio Patrensi, etc.*, 1887.

[3] Rohde's attempt to explain the language of I. 1 as metaphorical is unconvincing (*l.c.* p. 60).

[4] I follow recent editors in using the symbols F for *Mediceus bibl. Laurent.* 68, 2, and ϕ for *Mediceus bibl. Laurent.* 29, 2. Since Keil (*Obs. crit. in Cat. et Varr. de a. a. Libros*, 1849, p. 78) F has always been considered the sole authority for the text of *Met.*, *Flor.*, and *Apol.*, except where ϕ has preserved readings now altered or not easily legible in F.

The passage occurs in the twenty-seventh chapter of Book XI., and follows the account of the dream in which Lucius, having in a previous dream been commanded to seek initiation into the mysteries of Osiris, had communication with one of the *pastophori*, a man notable for a lame left ankle. Next day Lucius inquires for this man. The passage runs as follows (I quote Helm's text, which is based on F: all points of divergence from F are marked).

> 'Nec fide<s> afuit. nam de pastophoris unum conspexi statim praeter indicium pedis cetero[s] etiam statu atque habitu examussim nocturnae imagini congruentem, quem Asin<i>um Marcellum uocitari cognoui postea, reformationis meae <non> ali<e>num nomen. nec moratus conueni protinus eum sane nec ipsum futuri sermonis ignarum, quippe iam dudum consimili praecepto sacrorum ministrandorum commonefactum. nam sibi uisus est quiete proxima, dum magno deo coronas exaptat . . . et de eius ore, quo singulorum fa[c]ta dictat, audisse mitti sibi Madaurensem, sed admodum pauperem, cui statim sui sacra deberet ministrare; nam et illi studiorum gloriam et ipsi grande compendium sua comparari prouidentia.'

The changes accepted or suggested by Helm seem practically certain, except for his lacuna after 'exaptat.' Some alteration must be made, and personally I agree with Mr. Butler[1] in accepting Helm's suggestion that something like 'conspexisse numen diuinum' has here dropped out: but perhaps the omission of 'et' is a better solution.

If F here gives the original text, it is clear that Apuleius means to hint that at this point his hero is no longer Lucius of Corinth, but Apuleius of Madaura.[2] But in spite of the scorn which Rohde[3] vented on Goldbacher, I agree with Goldbacher, Dee, and Monceaux[4] in suspecting that 'Madaurensem' is corrupt.

My objections to it are these. First, the inconsistency introduced into the story by this single strange reference to Apuleius' birthplace. This objection is not in itself conclusive, for fantastic inconsistency is characteristic of Apuleius. I doubt, however, if even he could have gone quite so far as this: the nearest approach is the phrase in IV. 32, on the lips of the old woman, 'sed Apollo, quanquam Graecus et Ionicus, propter Milesiae conditorem sic Latina sorte respondit.' The credibility of Rohde's theory, that the reader was intended to realize that the epithet *Madaurensem* had 'no retrospective force' is weakened by the plain reference to Lucius' transformation in the immediate context, and by the allusions to Hypata, Fotis and the white horse

[1] *The Metamorphoses or Golden Ass of Apuleius of Madaura*, translated by H. E. Butler, 1910, II. p. 154.

[2] It is noticeable, though hardly ever noticed, that Apuleius nowhere else names Madaura, and that there are difficulties in reconciling that city's supposed site with *Apol.* 24. But the evidence of St. Augustine (confirmed by the MSS of Apuleius) seems to be conclusive (*Civ. D.*, 8. 14). The reference in the περὶ ἑρμηνείας (c. iv.) may be ignored, as the book is of very doubtful authenticity, though mentioned by Cassiodorius (p. 1173 a. Migne). Moreover the word 'Madaurensem' there looks like an interpolation.

[3] *L.c.* p. 55.

[4] *Apulée*, 1889, p. 299; but in *Les Africains*, 1894, Monceaux ignores his former view.

in XI. 20. If Apuleius really wrote 'Madaurensem' it is difficult to guess his motive: perhaps the most plausible view is that he meant it to serve as a kind of cipher, intended to prove at need that he was the author of the *Metamorphoses* (*ex hypothesi* published anonymously).

A more serious objection to the whole phrase is the difficulty of assigning to the words 'Madaurensem sed admodum pauperem' any reasonable sense.[1] Whatever be the exact force of 'sed' in this passage, the epithet which it introduces ought, since it expresses a definite quality, either to contradict or to emphasize some quality expressed or implied in 'Madaurensem.' If the reading is right, 'Madaurensem' ought readily to have suggested to the Roman reader some quality or attribute easily contrasted or compared with extreme poverty. This quality might, for instance, be piety: the contrast would then be 'one of those pious Madaurans (likely to wish to be liberal), but extremely poor (and therefore unable to be so).' Or, more simply, 'Madaurensem' might have suggested great poverty or great wealth: it might either be a surprise to learn that a Madauran could be poor, or the very name of Madaura might suggest poverty; so that the sense would be 'a Madauran—and poor *even for a Madauran*.'

It seems most unlikely that any suitable notion would attach to Madaura in the mind of the ordinary reader. There is no reason to think that the place was notorious at all: it can hardly have been notorious for piety or wealth, and it is incredible that Apuleius should publicly have ridiculed the poverty of his birthplace, whose dignity he proudly defends in the *Apologia* (cc. 23 and 24). Moreover Lucius, a few lines further on, is careful to explain that his poverty is due not to his birth but to his travels: and Apuleius makes a similar personal statement in the *Apologia* (c. 23). Mr. Butler's version 'a man of Madaura, one who was quite poor' ignores the difficulty.

Hitherto only one emendation has been proposed. Goldbacher,[2] influenced by the readings of some inferior MSS,[3] 'Mandorensem' and 'Maudorensem,' proposed to read 'mane Doriensem.' It is, however, commonly held that these MSS are derived from F, and Goldbacher accepts this view, though he suggests that careful investigation might show traces of alteration in F. In any case the emendation is unattractive, nor does it very satisfactorily face the difficulty which I have just raised, though the aristocratic associations of 'Doriensem' perhaps make it a conceivable contrast to 'pauperem.' It is rejected by Dee, who is convinced that 'Madaurensem' is corrupt, and has nothing else to propose.

I am convinced that, if 'Madaurensem' is right, some such adjective as 'religiosum' must originally have stood between it and 'sed'[4]: but I believe the corruption to be more extensive. I would suggest that the original reading

[1] Dee (*l.c.*) briefly calls attention to this difficulty.

[2] *L.c.* p. 417.

[3] 'mandorensem,' according to Hildebrand, is read by the *Lipsianns* (L), 'maudorensem' by the two Wolfenbüttel MSS (G, 1 and 2), and by the *Dresdensis* (D).

[4] An alternative possibility is that 'sed' should be omitted: but, although it stands between '-sē' and 'ad,' this seems unlikely.

was 'nam sibi uisus est quiete proxima, dum magno deo coronas exaptat <? conspexisse numen diuinum[1]> et de eius ore, quo singulorum fa[c]ta dictat, audisse mitti sibi *mandare se* <religiosum[2]> sed admodum pauperem, cui statim sua sacra deberet ministrare; nam et illi studiorum gloriam et ipsi grande compendium sua comparari prouidentia.' I would render thus (using *oratio recta* to make the sense absolutely clear): 'For he seemed to himself, during last night's repose, while arranging wreaths for the great god <? to have seen the divinity> and from his mouth, with which he dictates the fates of each and all, to have heard these words: "I bid you send to me a man religious but extremely poor, to whom you must straightway administer my rites: for by my providence there is being prepared at the same time literary glory for him, and a large profit for yourself."'

The use of the reflexives, with my reading, is not strictly correct; for they are used throughout as if Osiris were the subject of the verb on which 'mandare' depends. But though not actually the subject, he is so virtually, for 'de eius ore' is almost equivalent to 'dicentem': and it is interesting to observe that in translation Mr. Butler has so remodelled the sentence as to make him so ('. . . the deity himself appeared to him, and from that mouth that utters forth the fate of each and all, proclaimed to him that . . .'). Moreover with my reading the use of the pronouns is consistent, whereas with that of the MS, while 'sibi' refers to Asinius, 'sua' seems rather to refer to Osiris,[3] and to serve to distinguish his rites from those of Isis. In the next clause 'sua prouidentia' refers to Osiris, and 'ipsi,' not 'sibi,' is used of Asinius. In such a tangle of pronouns a single initial liberty is less embarrassing than subsequent inconsistency. It should be observed that, owing to the early position of 'mitti,' the first pronoun referring to Osiris was inevitably a reflexive, a fact which was likely to influence the rest of the sentence.

If the original reading was that which I suggest, the corruption is easily intelligible, for the sentence is puzzling, unless it is read quickly.[4] A scribe would be likely to assume, till he reached the words 'mandare se,' that 'mitti sibi' depended directly on 'audisse,' and that 'sibi' referred to Asinius, and he would expect a noun or adjective in the accusative to follow, as the subject of 'mitti.' He might well fail to make anything of 'mandare se,' but he

[1] I take Helm's conjecture as a stop-gap.

[2] Or possibly <'religiosum quidem'>.

[3] 'Sua' might conceivably refer to Asinius, but it is more applicable to the deity than to the initiator: cf. XI. 27 (earlier in this same chapter), 'deae quidem me tantum sacris imbutum, at . . . Osiris necdum sacris illustratum.'

[4] A similar sentence, liable to the same sort of confusion, occurs earlier in the same chapter (XI. 27). I give the skeleton of the sentences which precede it, to make the construction clear. '. . . nouum mirumque plane comperior: deae quidem me . . . sacris imbutum, at . . . Osiris necdum sacris illustratum; quanquam enim . . . conexa . . . ratio numinis esset; tamen . . . discrimen interesse maximum; *prohinc me quoque peti magno etiam deo famulum sentire deberem*' (I quote Helm's text: I should prefer to follow *ed. Bas. alt.* in omitting the final *-m* of 'deberem'). Here a slow reader would probably take 'me quoque peti' to be parallel in construction to 'me . . . inbutum' and 'discrimen interesse,' whereas in fact 'peti' depends on 'sentire' which depends on 'deberem.' The sentence does not happen to lend itself easily to serious corruption.

would find himself on *terra firma* again from the moment he reached 'religiosum' to the end of the sentence.[1] He might then return to 'mandare se,' and try to fit it into his scheme. It would have to be a noun or an adjective in the accusative, and if he knew of Apuleius' magical reputation, and accepted (as St. Augustine did) the belief that the *Metamorphoses* was meant to be thought autobiographical, he might well have supposed that the words were a corruption of the epithet which from St. Augustine's time at least seems regularly to have been attached to Apuleius—'Madaurensem.' Corruptions of proper names[2] are common in F, and often suggest corrupt ancestry; and if 'Madaurensem' appeared not long before the date of F, the guess was on reasonable lines.

The change from 'mandare se' to 'Madaurensem' is very slight, especially if the *n* in 'mandare' was represented by a stroke or a small letter above the *a*[3]: nothing would be needed but the erasure of one letter (or stroke), the addition of *v* above the second *a*, and of *n* (or a stroke) above the first *e*, or of *n* between the two words, and the addition of one stroke to the last *e*—'madărensē.' For similar corruptions in F, I must refer to Helm[4]: a good instance is the alteration of 'triūpha dū' ('triumpha, dum') to 'triūphandū' in IX. 38. F contains at least one falsely produced proper name, 'Iuno' for 'uino' in X. 34, and one falsified one, 'Socrates' for 'Crates,' twice in *Apol.* 22.

The omission of 'religiosum' must be explained as a slip. When once 'Madaurensem' was read, it could be dropped without obvious injury to the sense. Such lacunae are not rare in F[5]: in the immediate context, besides the probable gap after 'exaptat,' 'non' has fallen out a few lines earlier. In the script of F, moreover, the omission may be due to haplography: *-sē* and *-sū* (the terminations of 'Madaurensem' and 'religiosum') might easily be confused, and in F[6] *r* closely resembles *s*, so that the scribe's eye might easily wander from the group of letters made up of the end of 'Madaurensem' and the beginning of 'religiosum,' to that made up of the end of 'religiosum' and the beginning of 'sed.'

The sense of 'religiosum sed admodum pauperem' suits the context extremely well. Two chapters earlier (in XI. 25) Lucius says to Isis, 'Ergo quod solum potest religiosus quidem, sed pauper alioquin, efficere curabo.'

'Mandare'[7] is common in Apuleius: it occurs in the *Metamorphoses*

[1] If 'religiosum' dropped out while 'mandare se' was still in the text, the alteration is even more natural.

[2] Cf. I. 24, II. 28, XI. 5, 20.

[3] All the abbreviations mentioned occur in F, in the first hand: *n* is not usually represented by a stroke, but it is so sometimes, e.g. II. 12, 15, IV. 5, 21, XI. 20. There is reason to think that the script of F's archetype resembled that of F: see Helm *l.c.* p. xli.

[4] *L.c.* p. xlviii. If the MSS which read 'mandorensem,' 'maudorensem,' could be shown to have independent authority, their evidence would support my proposal.

[5] Cf. Helm, *l.c.* p. l.

[6] Helm, *l.c.* p. xlv, 'permutantur saepissime *s* et *r*.'

[7] 'Mando' in the sense of 'command' is used with the *acc.* and *inf.* by Virgil (*Ecl.* V. 41), Martial (I. 88. 10) and Suetonius (*Tiber* 65, *Calig.* 29), though not by Apuleius, who uses it thrice with the plain *subj.* (*Met.* VIII. 4, X. 26, *Plat.* II. 27), and once with *ut* (*Flor.* 16 *fin.*). Virgilian echoes, however, are common in Apuleius:

seventeen times, five times of divine commands. For the phrase which I propose we may compare especially XI. 13 'At sacerdos . . . nocturni commonefactus oraculi miratusque congruentiam mandati muneris,' and IX. 36 'suspendium sese et totis illis et ipsis legibus mandare proclamans.'

For the sense given to 'mitti,' we may compare the uses of the words 'traditionem,' 'peti,' and 'recipere,' in connection with initiation and visions, in XI. 21 ('ipsamque traditionem ad instar uoluntariae mortis . . . celebrari'), XI. 27 ('me quoque peti magno etiam deo famulum'), and XI. 30 ('Osiris . . . me . . . recipere uisus est').

It is unnecessary to suppose that 'Madaurensem' was already in the text by the time of St. Augustine, whose assertion of the autobiographical character of the *Metamorphoses* (*ciu. d.*, 18, 17 ff.) is sufficiently explained by the fact that the story is told in the first person.

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moreover the similar use of *acc.* and *inf.* with 'praecipio,' a use not less rare than that with 'mando' (v. Dräger, *Hist. Synt. d. Lat. Spr.* edn. II, II. p. 410), occurs five or six times in the *Metamorphoses* (II. 5, ?III. 16, VI. 31, IX. 36, X. 3, XI. 14) along with the commoner plain *subj.* (IV. 24, V. 6, 13, 26).

THE USES OF EN IN THE ODYSSEAN BOOKS OF THE ILIAD.

ONE of the grounds for arguing that the books of the Iliad, I, K, Ψ, Ω, are late and Odyssean, is that there are found in them uses of certain prepositions, especially *ἐπί*, *ἐν*, *ἐξ*, which appear in the Odyssey, but not, or only very rarely, in the other twenty books of the Iliad.

In Dr. Monro's *Homeric Grammar*,[2] p. 189, the case in regard to *ἐν* is thus stated. 'Notice, as departures from the strict local sense, the uses—(1) with plurals denoting persons (=*μετά*, *among*); (2) with abstract words (rare in the Iliad).' Instances are given, mostly from I, K, Ψ, Ω, and the remark is added that 'these two uses are nearly confined in the Iliad' to these four Odyssean books.

Miss Stawell's refutation (in *Homer and the Iliad*, 251 ff) of the Odyssean theory as regards Ψ and Ω, does not appear, so far, to have been met by a detailed reply. It is to be hoped that one will be forthcoming, so that those interested in Homer may know whether the theory is to continue to be regarded with the respect which the great name of Dr. Monro has hitherto secured for it. But on one point in the proof in the *H. G.*, the uses of *ἐν* referred to above, we seem to have the materials on which a decision may be formed. Professor Murray, in the course of a review of Miss Stawell's work in the *Nation* of 9th Octr. last, has criticised Miss Stawell's discussion of the point, and has rejected her demonstration altogether. I venture to offer the following remarks on his objections to it.

1. *The Uses of ἐν with Plurals denoting Persons.*

Miss Stawell has found that there are no fewer than 64 instances of this Odyssean use in the books of the Iliad other than I, K, Ψ, Ω. Professor Murray purges these away in a somewhat summary fashion. He begins by affirming a difference 'clear, though slight' between cases like 'he rose and spoke *ἐν* '*Αργείοισι*' and those of the type 'he fought *ἐν προμάχοισι*.' It may surely be suggested that this is a distinction without a difference, but that, if there be a difference, it is too microscopically small to furnish reliable ground for arguing difference of age between different parts of the poems. Professor Murray, however, uses it as 'disposing at once of 38 of Miss Stawell's instances.' And 'if closely considered, it will dispose of several more,'—

apparently all except 4 cases from the first book of the Iliad, which Professor Murray examines in detail. This is not quite satisfying. There still remain 22 cases about which we are left in doubt.

The four cases from A are separately discussed.

(1). A 520, *ἡ δὲ καὶ αὔτως μ' αἰεὶ ἐν ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσι νεικεῖ.* Professor Murray remarks, 'in the Thetis episode, very generally regarded as a late addition, *e.g.* by Leaf.' Dr. Leaf (*Introd.* to A) seems willing to wound, and does hazard a 'mere hypothesis.' That, as he adds, 'it is a possible hypothesis' does not help his case. But he only suggests that the episode is perhaps one of two parallel scenes which have been fused, and, as he adds that 'it is not in our power to say which of the two was older,' it is obvious he does not condemn the passage in the text as late. But again, Professor Murray's 'very generally' goes much too far. The closing scene of A does not lack defenders.

(2). A 398, *οἵη ἐν ἀθανάτοισιν ἀεικέα λοιγὸν ἀμῦναι.* 'Condemned as spurious by Zenodotus.' Zenodotus athetized 396-406. But who has followed him among the moderns? Fick did, for characteristic reasons,—the *mythologische Gelehrsamkeit* and the 'Ionic' form *Βριάρεων.* But he withdrew his objections and condemned only 400 and 403 (Ameis-Hentze, *Anh.* to 396 ff). Dr. Leaf does no more than mention the athetesis in his *app. crit.* There seems to have been little in it (Ludwich, *Aristarchs hom. Textkrit.*, I 192). Pierron (*a.l.*) conjectures that the objection was to *τὸ ἀπρεπές*, and mentions that Zenodotus did not *excise* the lines.

(3). A 575, *ἐν δὲ θεοῖσι κολῳὸν ἐλαύνετον,* 'contains a word (*κολῳός*) not elsewhere found in Homer.' But surely we are not going back to the days when a *ἅπαξ εἰρημένον* could be used to discredit a passage. For *κολῳός* we may refer, with Friedländer (*Zwei hom. Wörterverz.*, 719), to *κολῳάω*, B 212. Next, 'the line forms the beginning of a passage quoted from the Odyssey.' This juggling with parallel passages is an expedient of the Higher Criticism which it is dangerous to use. In the present case, the professional Repetition-hunters do not say that the passage in the Odyssey is the original. See Sittl, *Wiederholungen*, 13, and Düntzer on *σ* 402 ff. See also Monro on the lines in the Odyssey. Lastly, the line in A—or rather the following line, 576—'contains the Attic use of the Article,' *τὰ χερείονα.* But you cannot purge such uses out of A,—*τά τ' ἐόντα, τά τ' ἐσσόμενα*, 70, and *τὰ κάκ'*, 107. Dissectors regard them as 'late' uses, but there they are in the lowest layer of what the vast majority of such critics hold to be the earliest stratum of the Iliad. In fact they are absolutely fatal to that convenient theory which declares that *ὁ* was a demonstrative in the 'early' lays and a full-fledged Article in the 'late' additions. There is nothing against the line.

(4). A 109, *καὶ νῦν ἐν Δαναοῖσι . . . . ἀγορεύεις . . . . . .* This line is '"inorganic," *i.e.*, it goes in or out without affecting the sense or the grammar.' Surely there is some mistake here. We know the expression 'inorganic' (*Rise of the Greek Epic*, 118, 169) for lines which Professor Murray's predecessors simply cast away with the remark, 'they can be cut out.' But

it seems to be a misnomer here. 109 is surely 'organic.' It does not go out; it stays. No critic of standing, so far as we can discover, has objected to it before.

II. *The Use of ἐν with Abstract Nouns.*

Five instances from the non-Odyssean books quoted by Miss Stawell are similarly examined. (1). In O 426, *μάχης ἐν στείνεϊ τῷδε*, '*στείνεϊ* is hardly an abstract; it is rather "a narrow place."' We give the interpretations in the first five books we open. Ebeling, *s.v.*, *summum discrimen*, Seiler, *s.v.*, *Gedränge*. So Ameis-Hentze, *a.l.* Monro, *a.l.*, gives 'press,' 'hard struggle.' Leaf, *a.l.*, 'in this strait' (figurative; see his note on Θ 475). Miss Stawell seems to have chosen the better way.

(2). In O 741, *τῷ ἐν χερσὶ φόως, οὐ μειλιχίῃ πολέμοιο*. 'Dionysius Thrax had a different reading (*μειλιχίη*); the uncertainty of the text is here vital.' Dionysius had his master, Aristarchus, against him (Schol. AV and Eustath., 1040, 36). And who has believed his report? I refer to ten standard editions of the Iliad, and find that not one of them follows him.

(3). X 483, *αὐτὰρ ἐμὲ στυγερῷ ἐνὶ πένθεϊ λείπεις*. 'The passage recurs in the "late" book Ω,'—725 ff, where the important words *ἐνὶ πένθεϊ* do not occur,— 'and may be taken from there.' We do not admit that Ω is late, but what is wanted is proof that the passage in X is taken from Ω. If reference to the work of a Repetition-expert is required, we may cite Peppmüller's elaborate demonstration that the passage in Ω is taken from X.

(4). X 199, *ὡς δ' ἐν ὀνείρῳ οὐ δύναται φεύγοντα διώκειν*, 'is in a passage generally suspected.' It is in a passage that has been hotly contested. *Non liquet* is all that can be said. We need not defend it.

(5). X 61 'is in a passage which Mülder has shown to be probably taken from Kallinos'—Tyrtaeus ?—'and therefore not early.' I think there is inaccuracy here. Mülder (*Homer u. d. altionische Elegie*, 41 ff) deals with X 71 ff. He has nothing to say against 61. As to Mülder's method, and his proof in this particular case, it is enough to refer to Rothe's scathing critique in *Jahresb. d. philol. Vereins*, 1907, 294 ff.

And one remark before we leave these cases of *ἐν* with *abstracta*. If *ἐν* with an abstract noun is banned, what is the acceptable usage? The only other preposition available was *μετά*. But *μετά* is very rarely used with a noun in the singular, and apparently not with a real abstract noun at all (*H. G.*, 177 ff, and Leaf on O 118). Were the poets to be absolutely barred from using phrases equivalent to our 'in miserable plight,' 'in great sorrow'?

These are all the cases in Miss Stawell's list which have been specially examined. They nearly all *μένει ἔμπεδα*. As regards Professor Murrays method, Miss Stawell's instances are mostly objected to because some critic, ancient or modern, has suspected them or read them differently, or because they, or something like them, occur elsewhere in the poems. Now of how many lines in the Iliad can this not be said? *Very few indeed*. If such

reasoning is to be allowed, the Iliad and Odyssey can be—and many parts of them unfortunately have been—reduced to shreds. But there is another objection to the procedure. If we apply it to the instances on which Dr. Monro, seldom stopping to regard the suspicions of critics, built up in the *H. G.* his proof of the Odyssean character of I, K, Ψ, Ω, it will not, we think, be difficult to discredit that demonstration and others of the kind. Dissectors of the poems refer for authority to any line in them, late or early, suspected or unsuspected, alike. But when an enemy does the same, it is different. There is want of consistency in their proceedings. If a critic is scrutinising the language of the Doloneia, for instance, he appraises linguistic phenomena with reference to the degree of adherence to or departure from the standard of the *Ur-Ilias*, as he conceives the limits of that still unenucleated kernel. But if the language of what Bernhardy called *die tadellose Mēnis* or of some other acceptable book has to be defended by precedent, any part of the poems, even the despised Doloneia itself, can be dressed with a little brief authority.

Professor Murray concludes that Miss Stawell 'does not cut deep enough.' We venture to think that, for a first incision to cut away the growth that has been choking the 'Odyssean' books, her surgery is admirable. It is, we humbly think, her critic who does not go deep enough,—into the treatises of the authorities, and who appears to misappreciate 'the credentials.' Zenodotus and Dionysius Thrax do not avail against a phalanx of modern editors. They were no doubt, in their day, among the *ἄριστοι γραμματικοί*. But Homeric criticism is much better equipped now.

A. Shewan.

NOTES ON DIODORUS.

I. 3. 4 *διὸ καὶ ἐρριμμένων τῶν τε χρόνων καὶ τῶν πράξεων ἐν πλείοσι πραγματείαις κ.τ.λ.*

Hertlein *διερριμμένων*. Probably *διῃρημένων*. So in § 8 *τοῦ διῃρημένου*, which some MSS. have, contrasts better with *τὸ συνεχές* than *τοῦ διερρηγμένου*. The loss of *δι* (ΔΙ) is due to *καί* (ΚΑΙ) preceding, or *καί* may even be a misreading of *δι*.

I. 5. 1 *τῶν δὲ χρόνων τούτων περιειλημμένων ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ πραγματείᾳ τοὺς μὲν κ.τ.λ.* (*τῶν δὲ χρόνων* depending on *τοὺς μέν*).

τούτων is meaningless and should be *τῶν*. So in 8. 7 *ἐκ τοῦ κατ' ὀλίγον* has been restored for *ἐκ τούτου κατ' ὀλίγον*.

I. 6. 1 *τὰ μὲν πολλὰ συντάξασθαι πειρασόμεθα.*

This giving just the wrong sense, Vogel follows Madvig in reading *παρήσομεν*. Why not *τὰ μὲν πολλὰ συντάξασθαι <οὐ> πειρασόμεθα*, or *πόλλ' <οὐ>* (*οὐ* lost before *συ*) ?

I. 38. 2 *Θαλῆς . . εἷς τῶν ἑπτὰ σοφῶν ὀνομαζόμενος.*

Read *ὀνομαζομένων*, or perhaps *νομιζόμενος*.

I. 42. 2 *τὰ συνεχῆ τοῖς προειρημένοις διέξιμεν· ἀρχόμεθα δὲ κ.τ.λ.*

Read *ἀρξόμεθα*, tallying with *διέξιμεν*. Such futures are constant in Diodorus.

I. 53. 10 *τοὺς ἡλικιώτας τοῦ προειρημένου* should be *τοὺς προειρημένους*, They were described in § 2.

I. 64. 3 *ἐπιγέγραπται δ' ἐπὶ τῆς μείζονος (τῶν πυραμίδων) τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἀναλωθέντων χρημάτων, ὡς εἰς λάχανα καὶ συρμαίαν τοῖς ἐργάταις μηνύεται διὰ τῆς γραφῆς τάλαντα δεδαπανῆσθαι πλείω τῶν χιλίων καὶ ἑξακοσίων.*

It is difficult to find any meaning for *ὡς*. Is it not a case of *ὡς* and *καί* interchanged ? *καί* makes perfect sense.

I. 83. 3 *τῶν ἰχθύων* (*some of the fish*) *. . κατατέμνοντες ὠμῶς* (read *ὠμοὺς*) *σιτίζουσιν.*

I. 87. 1 *τρίτην δ' αἰτίαν φέρουσι τῆς ἀμφιβητήσεως τῶν ζῴων τὴν χρείαν . . πρὸς τὴν ὠφέλειαν τοῦ κοινοῦ βίου καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων.*

Is there any meaning in *ἀμφισβητήσεως* ? The sense required is *ἀποθεώσεως* or *ἀφιερώσεως*.

I. 89. 1 *λείπεται δ' ἡμῖν εἰπεῖν περὶ τῆς τῶν κροκοδείλων ἀποθεώσεως, ὑπὲρ ἧς οἱ πλεῖστοι διαποροῦσι πῶς τῶν θηρίων τούτων σαρκοφαγούντων τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐνομοθετήθη τιμᾶν ἴσα θεοῖς τοὺς τὰ δεινότατα διατιθέντας.*

When we compare 83. 6 *συντρεχόντων καὶ τὸν πράξαντα δεινότατα διατιθέντων* we see (1) that *δεινότατα* does not need an article (it is indeed the adverb), and (2) that an object is badly wanted. For *τά* therefore it is likely that we should read *αὐτούς*.

2. 7. 3 The wall was 365 stadia in length, because *τῶν ἴσων ἡμερῶν εἰς τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν οὐσῶν ἐφιλοτιμήθη* (Semiramis) *τὸν ἴσον ἀριθμὸν τῶν σταδίων ὑποστήσασθαι*.

τῶν ἴσων must be a mistake for *τοσούτων*, made under the influence of *τὸν ἴσον* coming just afterwards.

2. 33. 5 *παραστησάμενον τὸν διαδεχόμενον τὴν ἀρχήν*.

Probably *τὸν διαδεξόμενον*, his predecessor being the subject of *παραστησάμενον*.

2. 38. 1 *προσδέχεσθαι* seems the wrong tense with *πώποτε* and with *ἀπεσταλκέναι*. It should be perfect or aorist.

3. 8. 4 *καθοπλίζονται . . . μικροῖς δόρασιν*.

μακροῖς ?

3. 13. 2 *τῆς τὴν αἰδῶ περιστελλούσης ἐσθῆτος μὴ προσούσης*.

περιστελούσης ? But post-classical Greek is less particular about this future.

3. 15. 7 *πάντα γὰρ ἡ χρεία διδάσκει τὴν φύσιν*.

τὴν φύσιν does not seem natural. Read <*κατὰ*> *τὴν φύσιν*, comparing 19. 2 *τῆς κατὰ φύσιν χρείας αὐτοδίδακτον τέχνην ὑφηγουμένης*.

3. 47. 1 Read *τὸ βλάψον* (for *βλάπτον*) *καὶ νουθετῆσον*.

3. 59. 2 *Ἑρμῆν* <*μὲν*> *εὑρεῖν φασιν, Ἀπόλλωνα δὲ πρῶτον αὐτῇ κατὰ τρόπον χρῆσθαι*.

ib. 3 *τὸν δὲ πρότερον* makes no sense. Read *ἕτερον*.

4. 1. 5 *ἐν ταύτῃ δὲ κ.τ.λ.*

In this clause *ἀναγράψομεν* or *διέξιμεν* seems to have been lost. Cf. the beginnings of other books.

4. 14. 3 *πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐφιλοτιμήθησαν οἱ προειρημένοι κατὰ τὰς τέχνας, τῆς μὲν πρὸς εἰρηνικὴν ἀπόλαυσιν καὶ τέρψιν, τοῦ δὲ πρὸς τὴν τῶν πολεμικῶν κινδύνων ἀσφάλειαν*.

The genitive *τῆς μέν* and *τοῦ δέ* have no proper construction, for it is very awkward to make them depend on *τὰς τέχνας*. I think a participle such as *συνεργούσης* has been lost after *τέρψιν*, so that they are genitives absolute, a construction sometimes found when the participle might have been in the nominative.

4. 44. 1 *μηδένα γὰρ* <*ἄν*>.

4. 76. 2 *ὑπάρχοι* would perhaps be better than *ὑπάρχει*.

5. 27. 1 *χρυσὸς δὲ πολύς, ὃν τοῖς ἐγχωρίοις ἡ φύσις . . . ὑπουργεῖ*.

Such expressions as *χρηστὰ ὑπουργεῖν* or *χάριν ὑπουργεῖν* are no parallels and no support to *χρυσὸν ὑπουργεῖν*. If *πορίζει* through confusion with *ὑπό* got written *ὑπορίζει*, we can imagine *ὑπουργεῖ* growing out of it.

5. 45. 4 *ὅστις ἂν αὐτῶν δοκῇ μάλιστα γεγεωργηκέναι.*

μάλιστα should certainly be *κάλλιστα*.

5. 48. 4 *φασί . . τὸν Δία . . παραδεῖξαι αὐτῷ τὴν τῶν μυστηρίων τελετήν, πάλαι μὲν οὖσαν ἐν τῇ νήσῳ, τότε δέ πως παραδοθεῖσαν.*

The last words can hardly be right. Dindorf conjectured *παραλυθεῖσαν*. I should rather say that before *πως* a comparative adverb, e.g. *τελεώτερον*, had been lost.

9. 11. 2 (a fragment) *Πιττακὸς βαθὺς ἦν καὶ ἤμερος καὶ τὴν παραίτησιν ἔχων αὐτός ἐν αὑτῷ.*

βαθύς sagacious makes perfectly good sense in itself, but along with *ἤμερος* and *τὴν παραίτησιν κ.τ.λ.* it seems hardly in place. Can it be a mistake for *ἀγαθός*? *βαθύς* in this sense is not cited as occurring elsewhere in Diodorus; for *ἀγαθός* cf. 11. 8. 5 and 66. 2.

11. 1. 3 *ἔπεισε τὸν Ξέρξην* should be *ἔπειθε*. Cf. 56. 2. *θ* and *σ* in this word are constantly interchanged.

11. 17. 1 *ὁ δὲ Θεμιστοκλῆς ὁρῶν τὸν μὲν ναύαρχον Εὐρυβιάδην μὴ δυνάμενον κ.τ.λ., τὰς δὲ περὶ Σαλαμῖνα δυσχωρίας δύνασθαι πολλὰ συμβαλέσθαι πρὸς τὴν νίκην κ.τ.λ.*

ὁρῶ very seldom takes an infinitive, and the change to infinitive from participle here is in itself suspicious. Perhaps a word like *νομίζων* has been lost. But the order of the words *ὁρῶν τὸν μὲν ν.* supports the vulgate.

11. 37. 6 *εἰς τὴν περὶ Μυκάλην μάχην τοῖς Ἕλλησι πρὸς τοὺς Πέρσας <γενομένην>?*

τοῖς Ἕλλησι lacks construction.

11. 92. 3 Can *μὴ προσῆκον* = an infinitive? Should we not add *εἶναι* or read *προσήκειν*?

ib. 5 Probably *περιγράψομεν.*

12. 15. 3 *διὰ τὸ μὴ πιστεύεσθαι τοῦ σώματος* is not Greek. '*τὸ σῶμα* Reiske, *τὰ σώματα* Cobet.' Read rather *τοῦ σώματος <τὴν τροφήν>*, as we have a few lines above *ἑτέροις δὲ τὴν τῶν ὀρφανῶν τροφὴν ἐπίστευσεν.*

12. 21. 1 Omit *ἐκ τῆς πόλεως.*

12. 35. 2 *ἀποφαινόμενοι . . πόλεις οὐκ ὀλίγας παρεσχηκέναι παρ' αὑτῶν εἰς τὴν κτίσιν τῶν Θουρίων.*

πόλεις is a mistake, due to abbreviation, for *πολίτας*. This is fairly clear in itself and confirmed by the *ὀλίγους* of many MSS.

12. 37. 2 *τὴν ἱστορίαν ἐντεῦθεν ἀρξάμενος* should surely be *τῆς ἱστορίας.*

12. 38. 2 *εἰς ἀρρωστίαν ἐνέπεσεν . . ., ἀδημονοῦντος δ' αὐτοῦ κ.τ.λ.*

ἀρρωστία is evidently not the right word. Hertlein *ἀγωνίαν*. I suggest *ἀπορίαν*, corrupted first perhaps to *ἀροπίαν*.

12. 60. 5 *οὐκ ἔφασαν <ἂν> ἀκολουθεῖν*, or *ἀκολουθήσειν*?

12. 79. 6 *διακινδυνεύοντας* should be singular, referring to the king.

13. 2. 5 *τριήρων μὲν ἑκατὸν τεσσαράκοντα παρεσκευασμένων, ὁλκάδων δὲ καὶ τῶν ἱππαγωγῶν, ἔτι δὲ τῶν τὸν σῖτον καὶ τὴν ἄλλην παρασκευὴν κομιζόντων*

πολύς τις ἀριθμὸς ἦν. ὁπλῖται δὲ καὶ σφενδονῆται. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἱππεῖς καὶ τῶν συμμάχων πλείους τῶν ἑπτακισχιλίων.

From ὁλκάδων the sentence is in confusion. ὁλκάδων, like τριήρων, goes with παρεσκευασμένων and must have been followed in like manner by a numeral, probably expressed by a letter or two letters. καὶ τῶν ἱππαγωγῶν seems to depend on ἀριθμός, but there may be something slightly wrong. τριήρων μὲν ρμ΄ παρεσκευασμένων, ὁλκάδων δέ . . ., καὶ τῶν ἱππαγωγῶν κ.τ.λ. No doubt there were also numerals or a numeral with ὁπλῖται καὶ σφενδονῆται, and probably with ἱππεῖς.

13. 10. 4 [καὶ] συνέστη πασῶν τῶν τριήρων ναυμαχία.

καί is bracketed as impossible. Perhaps καὶ πασῶν συνέστη, καί emphasizing πασῶν.

13. 15. 1 ἐδεῖτο πάντων, εἰ καὶ πρότερον, [ἢ]τὸ νῦν ἀντιλαβέσθαι τῆς μόνης καταλελειμμένης ἐλπίδος.

ἤ and καί sometimes get confused, and καί would be quite idiomatic here.

13. 17. 1 εἰ διὰ τῆς γῆς εἰς Ἀθήνας πλεῦσαι νομίζουσιν.

Read πλεύσειν. So 54. 5 παραπλεύσων. The aorist cannot have the future sense required.

13. 23. 4 οὐ δυνατὸν τοὺς ἄλλοις ἀνημέρως χρησαμένους αὐτοὺς παρ' ἑτέρων τυχεῖν ποτε φιλανθρωπίας, ἀλλὰ πράξαντας δεινὰ παθεῖν εὐγνώμονα.

Critics have changed ἀλλά variously (οὐδέ, καί, etc.) in the interests of the sense. Probably however it is not ἀλλά but εὐγνώμονα that is wrong, being one more example of the frequent confusion of εὐ- with ἀ-. Read ἀγνώμονα.

Then follows (in the same construction) καὶ παρὰ τοὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐθισμοὺς τοσούτους ἄνδρας φονεύσαντας ἐν ταῖς τοῦ βίου μεταβολαῖς ἐπιβοᾶσθαι τὰ κοινὰ πάντων νόμιμα. After καί or after μεταβολαῖς insert μή, going with ἐπιβοᾶσθαι.

ib. 5 τίς γὰρ Ἑλλήνων τοὺς παραδόντας ἑαυτούς . . . ἀπαραιτήτου τιμωρίας ἠξίωκεν, ἢ τίς ἧττον τοῦ μὲν ὠμοῦ τὸν ἔλεον, τῆς δὲ προπετείας τὴν εὐλάβειαν ἔσχηκεν;

This use of ἔχω is not Greek. The word may be wrong, but I suggest that something has been lost. We might for instance read τίς ἧττον <ἐν τιμῇ> . . ἔσχηκεν;

13. 35. 4 φαίνεται . . δίκαιος ἐκ τοῦ περιττότερον τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ κατ' ἀξίαν ἑκάστῳ τὸ ἐπιτίμιον ὑπάρξαι.

The clauses parallel to this afford further evidence, if any is needed, that the infinitive going with ἐκ τοῦ should have the same subject as φαίνεται δίκαιος. περιττότερον τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ requires this. ὑπάρξαι therefore surprises us and we seem to need some expression meaning *impose, inflict, appoint.* Reiske's ὑποδεῖξαι and ὑποτάξαι are not at all likely, nor is a plausible emendation easy to find. We note also (Vogel) that in 14. 6. 3 ὑπάρχειν occurs in the phrase ἐψηφίσαντο ὑπάρχειν πρόστιμον τῷ κ.τ.λ., though there it causes no difficulty. This suggests again that we should not alter the word but

supplement it. Did not Diodorus write *κατ' ἀξίαν ἑκάστῳ τὸ ἐπιτίμιον ὑπάρξαι <ποιῆσαι>*?

13. 45. 1 *συμμαχούσας* should, I think, be *συμμαχησούσας*.

13. 52. 6 *ἡμεῖς μὲν κατὰ θάλατταν πολεμοῦντες* (so Dindorf for *πέμποντες*) *σκάφεσι πολιτικοῖς μᾶλλον κινδυνεύομεν, ὑμεῖς δὲ πολίτας ἔχετε τοὺς πλείστους ἐν ταῖς ναυσίν.*

'*μᾶλλον*] *μόνον* Dind.; f. excidit *ἢ σώμασι*' Vogel. But what are *σκάφη πολιτικά*? Possibly *σκάφεσιν, <οὐ σώμασι> πολιτικοῖς, μᾶλλον κινδυνεύομεν*, or *σκάφεσιν, <οὐ> πολίταις, μ. κ.* If *οὐ* were lost, *πολίταις* might be changed to *πολιτικοῖς*.

13. 57. 3 *καί τινες μὲν χεῖρας ἁθρόας <προσημμένας> περιέφερον τοῖς σώμασι, τινὲς δὲ κεφαλὰς κ.τ.λ.*?

13. 72. 6 *τότε πρῶτον* should be *τό γε* (or *τὸ μὲν*) *πρῶτον*. In 77. 2 the MSS. have *τότε* for *τό*.

13. 75. 1 *οἱ δὲ τὴν Ῥόδον νῆσον κατοικοῦντες καὶ Ἰηλυσὸν καὶ Λίνδον καὶ Κάμειρον μετῳκίσθησαν εἰς μίαν πόλιν.*

The first *καί* is foolish, like 'inhabitants of Sicily and Syracuse.' Probably it stands for *κατ'*, more easily corrupted because of *καί* twice following, but often confused with it. *κατά* means *at, in the parts of*. The same mistake has been pointed out by Madvig (and Reiske) in 104. 8 *ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀττικὴν καὶ (κατὰ) πολλοὺς τόπους πλεύσας*. Cf. on 14. 116. 6 below.

ib. 9 *διόπερ τινὲς αὐτῶν πολλοῖς περιπεσόντες τραύμασιν ὡς τετελευτηκότες ὑπὸ τῶν συγγενῶν παρεδόθησαν, ὅπως μὴ τῇ τοῦ πλήθους ὀργῇ παραδοθῶσιν.*

παρεδόθησαν has been corrected to *παρεσώθησαν* and *παρελήφθησαν* under some misconception. It is certainly wrong and arises from an anticipation of *παραδοθῶσιν*. But in this not quite sufficiently recognized type of error (see my *Notes on Xenophon and Others*, p. 307) there is no need for the displaced word to resemble much or even at all the word which gets substituted for it. Resemblance is not the cause of the mistake. Here therefore some such word as *ἀπεκρύφθησαν* may be conjectured. Another case of the same error, *βίος* and *βίον*, occurs in 14. 1. 3.

13. 78. 4 *τὸ μὲν ναυτικὸν ἐθεώρει . . καταλελυμένον, πεζῇ δὲ τοὺς ἀγῶνας ἤλπιζεν ὑπολειπεσθαι.*

Should it not be *τοὺς ἀγωνιουμένους* or *τοὺς ἀγῶνας ποιησομένους*?

13. 84. 5 *ὥστε μετ' ὀλίγον τῆς πολιορκίας γινομένης ποιῆσαι ψήφισμα κ.τ.λ.*

Read *γενομένης*. The genitive depends upon *μετ' ὀλίγον*: *a little after the siege began*. *μετ' ὀλίγον τούτων* occurs in Xen. *Hell.* 1. 1. 2, and I doubt whether Cobet was right in striking out *τούτων*. Such a genitive is found in Herodotus and in post-classical writers.

13. 85. 2 *μάλιστα μὲν συμμαχεῖν αὐτοῖς, εἰ δὲ μή γε, ἡσυχίαν ἔχειν.*

Rather *εἰ δὲ μή, ἡσυχίαν γε ἔχειν.*

13. 88. 7 *ἐκλιπεῖν* should be *ἐκλείπειν*. Supplies *were failing*.

13. 108. 2 *ὅσα μὴ καλῶς ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρὸς ἐδόκει διεφθάρθαι . . περιέκοψεν.*

καλῶς] 'παντελῶς Rhod., ὅλως Wurm, τελέως Cobet.' καλός and ἱκανός get confused, and ἱκανῶς is clearly the word.

13. 112. 4 τὴν ὀργήν, which makes very poor sense with βαρέως ἐνεγκεῖν, should be joined with νομίζοντες, after which we may insert a καί. They thought that his anger and the vengeance he was likely to take for the treatment of her would unite them. Perhaps ἄν should be added to εἶναι (μεγίστην <ἂν> εἶναι).

14. 1. 3 ἐμφανῆ δὲ τούτων παραδείγματα λαμβάνειν ἔξεστι τοῖς ἀναγνοῦσι τὰ κατὰ μέρος τῆσδε τῆς βίβλου.

Read ἔξεσται, for ἥδε ἡ βίβλος is Book 14 now just beginning, as 2. 4 ἐν ταῖς πρὸ ταύτης βίβλοις shows.

14. 2. 2 διὰ τὸν φόβον ἠναγκάζετο φέρειν . . σιδηροῦν θώρακα.

φορεῖν is the regular word for habitual wearing.

14. 3. 3 τὴν παλαιὰν κατάστασιν ἔφασαν διανείμασθαι.

δεῖν ἀνανεοῦσθαι Madvig for διανείμασθαι, and so Vogel. Is not δεῖν μιμεῖσθαι more likely, as nearer in form?

14. 13. 8 ἡῦρον λόγον γεγραμμένον πολυτελῶς, ὃν ἐπραγματεύσατο πρὸς τὰ πλήθη.

'φιλοτίμως vel ἐπιμελῶς Bezzel.' Probably παντελῶς, *completely written out.*

14. 18. 7 The μέν in πολλὴ μὲν ἔρις seems devoid of meaning. Can it have arisen somehow from ὑπέ-μεν-ε in the line before?

ib. 8 ἐν ἡμέραις εἴκοσι τέλος ἔσχε τὸ τεῖχος . . . ὥστε τῷ τοίχῳ τῆς ὀχυρότητος προσγενομένης ἀνάλωτον ἐκ βίας ὑπάρξαι.

τοῖχος is not used of a city wall or of a fortification. τείχει and πάχει have been proposed. Probably τόπῳ, referring to the natural steepness of the ground (18. 4. ὁ γὰρ τόπος . . ὑπόκρημνος).

14. 26. 1 βέλτιον σχών for ἔχων? Nine lines below MSS. vary between παρέχεσθαι and παρασχέσθαι.

14. 58. 2 After τούτων δ' ὀλίγαι μὲν ἦσαν τριήρεις something seems missing.

14. 62. 2 See my *Aristophanes and Others*, p. 302, where I have suggested εἰς ἀριθμόν for εἰσθεόμεναι.

14. 65. 2 οὐδεὶς ἡμῶν προθύμως ὑπομένει τοὺς κινδύνους, ὅταν ἡ νίκη μηδὲν ἧττον ᾖ τῆς ἥττης.

Read μηδὲν ἧττον ᾖ <βαρύ> or <λυπηρόν>.

14. 70. 6 πρὶν ἥλιον ἀνατεῖλαι διὰ τὴν ψυχρότητα τὴν ἐκ τῆς αὔρας τῶν ὑδάτων φρίκη κατεῖχε τὰ σώματα.

Was it not the water that chilled the air, not the air the water? After all, the water could not affect the men except by means of the air. Read then διὰ τὴν ψυχρότητα τὴν ἐκ τῶν ὑδάτων τῆς αὔρας.

14. 101. 1 αἱ γὰρ κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν Ἑλληνίδες πόλεις ἔν τε ταῖς συνθήκαις εἶχον οὕτως ἵνα κ.τ.λ.

Vogel after Reiske apparently thinks it enough to delete τε, as having nothing that answers it. Surely it is not Greek to say that the states οὕτως

εἶχον in the agreement. Rather after πόλεις mark something as lost, to which the τε clause answers, and read εἶχεν οὕτως *it was provided*.

14. 107. 3 Should συγχωρῆσαι be συγχωρήσεται? The infinitive cannot be right and the passive has been used twice before.

14. 116. 6 τοὺς μὲν οὖν φύλακας ἔλαθον, χῆνες δ' ἱεροὶ τῆς Ἥρας τρεφόμενοι καὶ θεωρήσαντες ἀναβαίνοντας κραυγὴν ἐποίουν.

For καὶ θεωρήσαντες Vogel conjectures '*κατανοήσαντες* vel *αἰσθομένοι τούς*.' How did he fail to see that it should be καταθεωρήσαντες? Cf. 13. 75. 1 above.

15. 38. 4 τὴν ἐκ τρίτου προσώπου ἀναφερομένην ἡγεμονίαν.

Read εἰς τρίτον πρόσωπον, which ἀναφερομένην calls for. ἐκ and εἰς are notoriously liable to interchange. In 79. 4 ἐκ Θηβαίων ἁπάντων must apparently be a mistake for εἰς Θηβαίους or εἰς Θήβας.

15. 42. 2 μάλιστ' <ἂν> ποιεῖσθαι, or else ποιήσεσθαι.

15. 91. 5 ἐν ἀπορίᾳ καθειστήκει· τῆς δ' ἀπορίας οὐκ ἐώσης βουλεύσασθαι πρὸς ἀλκὴν ἐτρέπετο.

ἀπορίας after ἀπορίᾳ is another case of a word repeated from the context and so substituted for the original word. Cf. 13. 75. 9 above. ἐνεργείας and περιπετείας have been suggested here (τοῦ δὲ καιροῦ οὐκ ἐῶντος Reiske): perhaps it was ἀκαιρίας.

For notes on Books 16-18 see my *Notes on Xenophon and Others* pp. 312-317 or *Class. Rev.* xx. 436-438. I have drawn special attention there to the frequency of the error, several times indicated above, by which a word is wrongly repeated or even anticipated from the context, so as to displace another.

In the notes now published I suggest equally often that the insertion of a word will remove all difficulty. This remedy has perhaps not been used quite enough for errors in prose writers.

H. Richards.

SIGNOR FERRERO OR CAESAR?

SIGNOR FERRERO has courteously replied to the article in the *Classical Quarterly* of July, 1909, in which I gave reasons for preferring Caesar's *First Commentary* to his reconstruction. He thinks that I failed to seize his main point, which, he says, is represented by this question: Why did Caesar conclude an alliance with Ariovistus in 59 B.C. and break it in the following year?[1] Any one who may have read my article with care will have seen that I recognized that this point was capital.

In my *Caesar's Conquest of Gaul*[2] I conjectured that the Senate conferred upon Ariovistus the title of Friend of the Roman People 'with the object of securing his neutrality in view of the threatened Helvetian invasion,' and in the article to which Signor Ferrero replies I said that Caesar 'foresaw that when he went to Gaul he would have to deal both with the Helvetii and with Ariovistus; and to dispose of two formidable hosts separately would be quite as much as he could manage.'[3] Signor Ferrero remarks that

> 'L'explication paraît d'abord satisfaisante; mais la lecture attentive des Commentaires nous prouve que ni les Helvètes ni Arioviste ne désiraient que de vivre en paix avec César (cf. *B. G.* 1, 13; 1, 44), et bien loin d'avoir songé à une alliance contre César, regardaient une guerre contre lui comme une chose presqu' impossible. . . . Dans ces conditions, on ne comprend pas quel besoin il avait d'empêcher l'union de deux puissances, qui n'avaient jamais pensé à le combattre, ni unies ni séparées.'[4]

The passages to which Signor Ferrero refers are speeches, which Caesar puts into the mouths of Divico, the Helvetian leader, and Ariovistus respectively, and in which the former declared that 'if the Roman People would make peace with the Helvetii, they would go wherever Caesar fixed their abode,' but warned him not to 'suffer the place where they stood to derive its name from a Roman reverse and from the annihilation of a Roman army,' and the latter, after telling Caesar that 'unless he took his departure and withdrew his army from the neighbourhood, he should treat him not as a friend but as an enemy,' and hinting that 'he could purchase the gratitude and friendship' of 'many of the nobles and leading men of Rome' 'by killing him,' ended by genially assuring him that if he 'withdrew and left him in undisturbed possession of Gaul, he would reward him handsomely.' Signor Ferrero apparently now thinks that Caesar ought to have accepted these

[1] *C. Q.*, 1910, p. 28. [2] Ed. 1899, p. 21. [3] *C. Q.*, 1909, p. 213. [4] *C. Q.*, 1910, p. 28.

assurances, although in the article which I criticized he maintained that Caesar ought to have adopted an 'anti-German' policy. I may remark in passing that I never suggested that the Helvetii and Ariovistus were likely to form an alliance against Caesar, but only that it was Caesar's business to prevent Ariovistus from giving trouble. At all events the passages which Signor Ferrero quotes are hardly sufficient to refute my contention, that Caesar bestowed a title upon Ariovistus 'with the object of securing his neutrality in view of the threatened Helvetian invasion.' But, says Signor Ferrero, Caesar, by making an alliance with Ariovistus, risked losing the support of the philo-Roman party in Gaul. Nothing, he adds, in the First Book of the *Commentaries* is more striking than the weakness of that party; for the words of Diviciacus when he begged Caesar not to punish Dumnorix, as otherwise 'the result would be that the feeling of the whole country would turn against him' (*qua ex re futurum uti totius Galliae animi a se auerterentur*)[1] prove that 'le parti nationaliste représentait la presque totalité de la Gaule.' Why, asks Signor Ferrero, were the philo-Romans reduced to impotence?

'L'alliance avec Arioviste est la seule explication possible; mais c'est une explication suffisante. En s'alliant avec l'ennemi national de la Gaule, Rome s'aliénait toutes les sympathies des Gaulois. La question de savoir pourquoi César a fait cette alliance est donc plus complexe et difficile que M. Holmes ne le suppose.'[2]

I confess that Signor Ferrero seems to me to build too much upon the rhetorical phrase, *totius Galliae.* Still I am willing to admit, for the sake of argument, that the philo-Roman party was temporarily weakened by the fact that a title had been bestowed upon Ariovistus.[3] But what then? Caesar knew that he must run risks in order to solve a difficult political problem; and he solved it triumphantly. Signor Ferrero thinks that he ought to have rejected the overtures of Ariovistus, and resolutely embraced the cause of the pro-Helvetian party,—in other words, of the Nationalists. But the inevitable result would have been that he could only have got rid of Ariovistus, who, remember, according to Signor Ferrero, was only anxious to live on friendly terms with him: the Helvetii would have remained, and he would have been obliged to tolerate their permanent settlement in Gaul. Consider what that would have involved. Dumnorix was in league with the Helvetii, and intended to use them as instruments of his ambition.[4] Caesar would have been obliged either to look on helplessly at the development of their schemes, or to attack the Helvetii at some future and less propitious time. I cannot help thinking that he understood Gallo-Roman politics better than his critic. The radical difference between Signor Ferrero's view and mine is this: he believes that both the Helvetii and Ariovistus 'only desired to live in peace with Caesar,' but that Caesar ought nevertheless to have joined with the Helvetii and the Nationalists in expelling Ariovistus from Gaul; I believe, as Caesar's

[1] *B. G.*, i, 20, § 4. [2] *C. Q.* 1910, p. 29.

[3] As I remarked in my former article (*C. Q.*, 1909, p. 211), Caesar did exactly what the philo-Roman party wanted,—first expelled the Helvetii, and then Ariovistus.

[4] *B. G.*, i, 18, § 9.

narrative obliges me to do, that Caesar regarded the presence both of the Helvetii and of Ariovistus as dangerous to Roman interests. Is Signor Ferrero really prepared to maintain that Caesar would have served Rome and Gaul better if in 58 B.C. he had only expelled Ariovistus, and had permitted the Helvetii to remain? If he is, I can only admire his hardihood. If he is not, how can he help admitting that Caesar's policy was right?

Signor Ferrero tells me that I have forgotten that Caesar was not authorized by the laws of his country to defend Roman prestige in Gaul according to his personal views; that the right of declaring war belonged not to him, but to the Senate; that Ariovistus was a Friend of the Roman People; and that consequently the war which Caesar waged against him was *illegal*.[1] I have never denied any of these propositions; but I do deny their relevancy. Granted that Caesar's action was illegal; it does not follow that his sole motive for attacking Ariovistus was to recover the sympathies of the Gauls. If he was prepared to break the law in order to please the Gauls, why should it be deemed incredible that he was prepared to break it in order to do what Signor Ferrero himself insists ought to have been done, namely to rid Gaul and Rome of a dangerous enemy? Were not illegal and unconstitutional acts frequent in those revolutionary times? Did not Pompey show his contempt for legality in 52 B.C.?[2] Does Signor Ferrero maintain that Caesar consulted the Senate before he undertook the campaigns of 57 B.C. and the six years that followed? Did he not 'defend Roman prestige in Gaul,' and make war from first to last 'according to his own personal views' just as the Marquess Wellesley did in India? Has not Mommsen[3] insisted that the *Commentaries* were intended 'to justify . . . before the public the formally unconstitutional enterprise of Caesar in conquering a great country and constantly increasing his army for that object without instructions,' and was not the enterprise three times justified in advance by the Senate by the appointment of thanksgiving services?

There is one fact which alone pulverizes Signor Ferrero's reconstruction. If Caesar conferred titles upon Ariovistus, not, as I maintain, in order to secure his neutrality, but in order to obtain his active co-operation against the Helvetii, why did he never avail himself of it? It was as much as he could do, unaided, to defeat the Helvetii: why, then, did he not call upon Ariovistus to join him? Obviously because he had never contemplated a proceeding which would have paralysed his policy. If he had accepted the assistance of Ariovistus against the Helvetii, it would have been impossible for him, however cynical he may have been, to turn round afterwards and expel Ariovistus from Gaul. And that was what he intended to do.

Signor Ferrero attributes to Caesar a lack of foresight and a simplicity—nay, innocence—which are both ludicrous and incredible. He says that after the Helvetian war Caesar saw, for the first time, that if he rested satisfied with

[1] *C. Q.*, 1910, p. 29.
[2] Dion Cassius, xl, 56.
[3] *Röm. Gesch.*, iii, 1889, p. 615 (Eng. trans., v, 1894, p. 499).

his victory, he would only have played the game of Ariovistus, forfeited the sympathies of the philo-Roman party, and destroyed Roman prestige; and that, as he had not yet thought of conquering Gaul, the result would have been a veritable disaster, to avoid which he was forced to turn against his own ally.[1] How does Signor Ferrero know that Caesar had not yet thought of conquering Gaul? Is it conceivable that he would not have foreseen that sooner or later he would have to deal with Ariovistus?

The rest of Signor Ferrero's article relates only to points of detail; but I may as well dispose of them. Confessing that he does not know how or when the Helvetii proposed to drive Ariovistus into Germany, he goes on to say:

'Ce qui me semble le plus probable, c'est que le parti de Dumnorix cherchait à transporter cette population belliqueuse dans des territoires situés dans le nord-est de la Gaule, de l'établir dans ces territoires, pour pouvoir recruter un jour dans cette population une armée contre Arioviste.'[2]

But is not this an afterthought? In the article which I criticized Signor Ferrero did not say that the Helvetii were marching towards the north-east of Gaul with the intention of settling there and at some future time attacking Ariovistus: he said, 'the Helvetii had already [after their defeat] turned eastwards. The Helvetii therefore were marching towards the Rhine'; and he added that they marched 'towards the country in which the army of Ariovistus was encamped?'[3] The army of Ariovistus was not encamped in the north-east of Gaul, but in the plain of Alsace. To march from Geneva towards North-Eastern Gaul by way of the valley of the Saône and Mont Beuvray would have been a sufficiently inexplicable proceeding; but to march by the same route, with the intention of turning 'eastwards' 'towards the Rhine' and 'towards the country in which the army of Ariovistus was encamped' would have been more Gilbertian still. Accordingly I made an objection, which Signor Ferrero quotes and endeavours to answer. 'Ariovistus,' I said, 'was in the plain of Alsace. Let Signor Ferrero look at his map, and ask himself whether a movement more insane than a trek from Geneva to the neighbourhood of Lyons, across the Saône, up the valley of the Saône to the neighbourhood of Macon, then westward towards Toulon-sur-Arroux, then northward to the plateau of Langres, and then back again eastward a hundred miles or more "towards the Rhine"—a trek in bullock-carts full of non-combatants, against a powerful host which there was no motive for attacking—was ever planned outside Bedlam.'[4] Appealing from his former to his present self, Signor Ferrero says:

'Il n'est point nécessaire de supposer que l'émigration des Helvètes allait, comme une armée en formation complète, attaquer immédiatement Arioviste: elle allait occuper les territoires qu'on lui donnait, comme les Germains qu'Arioviste faisait venir d'outre Rhin, pour s'y tenir prête à fournir une armée. Il n'est donc

[1] *C. Q.*, 1910, p. 30. [2] *Ib.*, p. 31. [3] *The Greatness and Decline of Rome*, ii, 345-6.
[4] *C. Q.*, 1909, p. 209.

non plus nécessaire de supposer que les Helvètes se dirigeaient vers l'endroit où Arioviste campait.'

Very well; but how does he explain the startlingly devious character of the 'trek'? Read on.

'Quant à la route prise par les Helvètes, elle peut sembler "insane" à celui qui l'étudie sur une carte de l'Europe moderne. Evidemment ceux qui veulent aujourd'hui se rendre du territoire situé entre les Alpes et le Jura dans la France du nord-est n'ont pas besoin de passer par Macon, Autun, et Langres. Pourquoi les Helvètes ont-ils pris, il y a dix-neuf siècles, ce chemin? Parce qu'ils voulaient passer par le riche territoire des Éduens, qui étaient leurs amis et qui pouvaient leur donner des vivres.'[1]

It appears, then, that although we must not believe Caesar when he says that the Helvetii forcibly took supplies from the Aedui, although Dumnorix's popularity would be 'difficult to understand' if they had done any such thing,[2] the Aedui were ready and willing to *give* them supplies. But if so, why did the Helvetii move *westward* from the Saône when *ex hypothesi* their goal was in North-Eastern Gaul? If they had pushed on up the valley of the Saône, would they not still have been in Aeduan territory, and would not supplies have been still forthcoming? And since Signor Ferrero assures us that all the Nationalists in Gaul were their friends, why did they not draw their supplies from friends who were not remote from their alleged natural route? Why go a hundred miles out of the way to feed at the expense of the Aedui when the eastern and north-eastern tribes were available? No, Signor Ferrero, your explanation is a little too far-fetched. If Divico really planned that circuitous 'trek,' a Bedlamite he must have been!

But, despite the stubborn fact that the Helvetii struck westward from the Saône in the last stage of the march that preceded their defeat, Signor Ferrero contends that their goal could not have been the country of the Santoni, because

'Si les Helvètes allaient leur chemin avant la bataille, quand ils étaient talonnés par les Romains, il est au moins téméraire de supposer qu'ils se sont jetés à l'aventure, dans la Gaule, sur la première route qu'ils ont trouvée, quand ils avaient réussi à immobiliser l'ennemi pour trois jours et à le distancer de toute la marche qu'ils avaient pu accomplir en trois jours.'[3]

I supposed no such thing: the Helvetii did not march at random. After their defeat they abandoned the hopeless enterprise of marching to Saintonge: they knew that Caesar could, as he did, overhaul them, and their prestige was shattered. From the direction which they took after their defeat Signor Ferrero formerly concluded that they were marching 'towards the Rhine' with the object of attacking Ariovistus; he is now forced to amend this conclusion and to say that they were marching towards North-Eastern Gaul: is the second inference more valuable than the first? And, once more, I ask,

[1] *C. Q.*, 1910, p. 31.
[2] *Ib.*, p. 33.
[3] *Ib.*, p. 32. I have explained in Caesar's *Conquest of Gaul*, pp. 30, 199-200, why the Helvetii, in order to reach Saintonge, marched through Aeduan territory.

if Caesar had had any interest in deceiving his countrymen as to the place in which they originally intended to settle, would he have hit upon the country of the Santoni, the mention of which was not unlikely to excite suspicion? Would it not have served the purpose of a liar better to say that they intended to settle in the country of the Aedui?

Signor Ferrero complains that I have given two inconsistent explanations of the Helvetian emigration:

'Si César a attribué à l'émigration des Helvètes deux buts très différents—la conquête de la Gaule et l'émigration dans la Saintonge—c'est que les plans des Helvètes avaient changé après la mort d'Orgetorix. Telle est l'explication de la difficulté qu'il donne à p. 208. À la p. 207 il en avait déjà donnée une autre, qui ne me semble pas s'accorder avec la seconde: c'est que l'émigration dans le Saintonge était une véritable invasion de la Gaule, et en avait tous les dangers. "Unless we grant Signor Ferrero's assumption that the proposed trek into Saintonge was harmless, his whole case breaks down." Les deux explications, contradictoires entre elles, me semblent toutes les deux insoutenables.'[1]

Where is the contradiction? The emigration was an invasion of Gaul, and, as such, was justly regarded by Caesar as dangerous; but it did not imply the intention of founding a Gallic empire on the lines contemplated by Orgetorix. But, continues Signor Ferrero:

'César *B. G.* 1, 2 dit qu' Orgetorix persuade les Helvètes *perfacile esse . . . totius Galliae imperio potiri.* Plus loin (chap. 5) il ajoute "Post eius (Orgetorix) mortem nihilo minus Heluetii id quod constituerant facere conantur ut e finibus suis exeant." César dit donc très clairement le contraire de ce que M. Holmes affirme—c'est-à-dire que la mort d'Orgetorix n'avait rien changé aux plans des Helvètes.'[2]

I beg Signor Ferrero's pardon: Caesar merely says that 'after his death the Helvetii in no way relaxed their efforts to carry out their intended emigration.'[3] Condemning the intrigues upon which Orgetorix had embarked to gratify his ambition, they had intended to put him to death; but he saved them the trouble by committing suicide. That, however, was no reason why they should abandon their intention of emigrating or of afterwards pursuing in conjunction with Dumnorix any plan which they may have formed for their own aggrandisement. Finally Signor Ferrero says:

'Quant à l'autre explication, il me semble que César lui-même la refute. Si l'émigration dans la Saintonge avait été une entreprise aussi dangereuse pour l'empire romain que la conquête de la Gaule entière dont l'intention était attribuée aux Helvètes, pourquoi aurait-il justifié en définitive son mouvement offensif contre les Helvètes par la nécessité d'aider les Éduens, dont le territoire aurait été pillé par les Helvètes (ce qui n'était pas, d'ailleurs, exact)? Pourquoi aurait-il eu recours à cette explication mensongère, quand il en avait une si bonne aux yeux des Romains?'[4]

Why will Signor Ferrero persist in attributing to me statements which I have never made? I never said that the emigration was as dangerous as the

[1] *C. Q.*, 1910, p. 32. [2] *Ib.* [3] *B. G.*, i, 5, § 1. [4] *C. Q.*, 1910, pp. 32-3.

conquest of Gaul, which was planned by Orgetorix, for I do not know[1]: I said, in agreement with all other historians except Signor Ferrero, that it was dangerous; and Caesar justified his action, first, by emphasizing that fact, secondly by pointing to the ravages which the Helvetii had already committed, and thirdly by stating that Dumnorix intended to seize sovereignty with their aid.

On page 207 I quoted the passage in which Signor Ferrero says that Caesar endeavours to excuse his (alleged) inconsistency 'by stating that . . . the ambassadors of the Aedui . . . came to his camp to ask for help . . . and that it was only then that he decided to attack the Helvetii before their arrival in Saintonge. In other words,' says Signor Ferrero, 'he wishes us to believe that the idea of an offensive movement against the Helvetii occurred to him after he had . . . received the Aeduan envoys. But this is obviously a very far-fetched explanation.' Signor Ferrero complains that I described this passage as 'pure misrepresentation,' and, ignoring the reason which I gave for doing so, invites me to read Caesar's 10th and 11th chapters once more:—

'Au X^me^ chapitre César dit, qu'ayant appris l'intention des Helvètes d'aller dans la Saintonge, il alla chercher son armée au delà des Alpes et qu'il revint avec elle dans la Province. Au chapitre XI il raconte qu'il fut, à sa rentrée dans le Province, visité par les ambassadeurs des Éduens et d'autres peuples qui le prièrent de les secourir contre les Helvètes. Et il ajoute: "*Quibus rebus adductus* (persuadé donc par les remonstrances des ambassadeurs) *Caesar non expectandum sibi statuit dum, omnibus fortunis sociorum consumptis, in Santonos Heluetii peruenirent.*" Le texte est si clair, que je ne conçois pas comment un historien aussi distingué que M. Holmes ait pu m'accuser de "misreprésentation."'[2]

I have read the chapters very often, but, to please Signor Ferrero, I have read them again; and, as I am obliged to repeat that he was and is guilty of misrepresentation, I assure him that I used that word in no offensive sense. Misrepresentation may be due to carelessness, not to malice; and it was to carelessness that I attributed it,—the same carelessness that led Signor Ferrero to say that Caesar's 'Aeduan cavalry were defeated with suspicious regularity in all the skirmishes and engagements during the march,'[3] the truth being that there is no evidence that during the march more than one cavalry skirmish or engagement took place.[4] Signor Ferrero omits the most important sentences in *B. G.*, i, 10,—'Caesar was informed that the Helvetii intended to . . . make for the country of the Santoni. . . . He saw that if this happened, it would be very dangerous to the Province to have a warlike population, hostile to the Roman People, close to its rich and defenceless corn-fields. For these reasons he . . . hastened to Italy by forced marches,' etc. (*Caesari nuntiatur Heluetiis esse in animo . . . iter in Santonum fines facere. . . . Id si*

[1] What I said was that 'such a host could not have settled anywhere in Gaul without conquest, and of course they intended to conquer all they could.' *C. Q.*, 1909, p. 208, n. 2.

[2] *C. Q.*, 1910, p. 33.

[3] *The Greatness and Decline of Rome*, ii, 344. Cf. W. E. Heitland, *The Roman Republic*, 1909, § 1153

[4] Cf. *B. G.*, i, 15 with i, 18, § 10.

fieret, intellegebat magno cum periculo prouinciae futurum, ut homines bellicosos, populi Romani inimicos, locis patentibus maximeque frumentariis finitimos haberet. Ob eas causas . . . in Italiam magnis itineribus contendit). In other words, he decided to attack the Helvetii several weeks before the ambassadors of the Aedui asked him for help.

Signor Ferrero continues:

'M. Holmes me demandera probablement sur quoi je m'appuie pour affirmer que César a altéré la vérité, quand il nous a décrit les Éduens implorant son aide contre les Helvètes qui menaçaient de *omnes fortunas sociorum consumere*. Sur ce fait: que quelques chapitres plus loin (au XVII^me^) César est obligé d'admettre que Dumnorix, le protecteur des Helvètes, était si populaire, qu'il tenait en échec tout le gouvernement et que celui qui toucherait à lui serait détesté par toute la Gaule. Il serait difficile de comprendre une telle popularité, si les Helvètes avaient mis la Gaule à fer et à feu, comme on le raconte dans le onzième chapitre.'[1]

Then does Signor Ferrero also deny the truth of *B. G.*, i, 15, § 4, where Caesar tells us that while he was following the Helvetii through Aeduan territory 'he thought it enough to prevent the enemy from looting, foraging, and ravaging the country' (*satis habebat in praesentia hostem rapinis pabulationibus populationibusque prohibere*)? Does Signor Ferrero believe that a host numbering over three hundred thousand souls could have been prevented by their leader from attempting to plunder? In his eleventh chapter Caesar says nothing about 'fire and sword': he only says that the Helvetii ravaged (*populabantur*) Aeduan territory. According to Signor Ferrero, they had gone far out of their way to that territory for the sole purpose of procuring food, which the Aedui were willing to give them; but if they had plundered it (for aught we know, from philo-Romans), Dumnorix's popularity would be incomprehensible! Yet it would seem that he managed somehow to retain his popularity with the unhappy people of North-Eastern Gaul, whose fertile lands, according to Signor Ferrero, he had promised to assign to them.

Signor Ferrero concludes by affirming that he is the first commentator who has ever detected the (alleged) 'contradiction between the beginning of Caesar's narrative and what follows':

'Je crois avoir été le premier, après vingt siècles, à avertir cette contradiction; M. Holmes lui-même . . . ne s'en était pas aperçu.'

No; nor has Camille Jullian, nor has Mr. Heitland, even after they had listened to Signor Ferrero's warning.

T. Rice Holmes.

[1] *C. Q.*, 1910, p. 33.

SOPHOCLEA.

III.

ANTIGONE.

351. *ἵππον ὀχμάζεται ἀμφὶ λόφον ζυγῷ.*

This (Schöne's) must be the right reading, not *ζυγῶν*, for the next line begins with a vowel, and by Headlam's canon the final dactyl must be pure. Compare also 291: *οὐδ' ὑπὸ ζυγῷ | λόφον δικαίως εἶχον.*

376. *ἐς δαιμόνιον τέρας ἀμφινοῶ*
τόδε πῶς εἰδὼς ἀντιλογήσω
τήνδ' οὐκ εἶναι παῖδ' Ἀντιγόνην;

If we take *τόδε* with *τέρας* there is no proper connexion of thought, for it is absurd to say: 'I am in doubt about this supernatural event, how I am to deny that yonder is Antigone.' If we put a colon after *τόδε*, we offend against the rhythm, and get a violent asyndeton; who believes that Sophocles would say: 'I don't know about the portent; how can I deny, etc.'? If we stop after *ἀμφινοῶ*, the rhythm may be better, but nothing else is.

All required is to read:

ἐς δαιμόνιον τέρας ἀμφινοῶ,
τὸ δὲ πῶς εἰδὼς ἀντιλογήσω
τήνδ' οὐκ εἶναι παῖδ' Ἀντιγόνην;

The Chorus cannot make up their mind what to think about an event apparently supernatural (on the meaning of which see the paper of Professor Drachmann, translated in *Class. Rev.*, Nov., 1909), but there is one thing that is plain; yonder is Antigone brought in prisoner.

Cf. *Phil.* 863, where the Chorus first express doubt about what Neoptolemus may wish to do, and continue

τὸ δ' ἀλώσιμον ἐμᾷ φροντίδι, παῖ,
πόνος ὁ μὴ φοβῶν κράτιστος.

Here also AL read *τόδ'*.

474· καὶ τὸν ἐγκρατέστατον
σίδηρον ὀπτὸν ἐκ πυρὸς περισκελῆ
θραυσθέντα καὶ ῥαγέντα πλεῖστ' ἂν εἰσίδοις.

This passage has been discussed by Pähler, *Die Löschung des Stahles bei den Alten*, p. 17, and by Blümner, *Technologie*, vol. iv., p. 348. Pähler thinks that the reference is to the process of hammering the heated steel; if the metal has been raised to too high a temperature, it is apt to fly in pieces under the hammer. To this Blümner objects that we cannot expect such knowledge of technical detail in Sophocles. But there is no saying what he did not know, and I am inclined to echo the words of Psichari: 'il faut surtout tenir compte de la vaste curiosité qui caractérise l'esprit de Sophocle.' It is quite probable that he knew this, and yet I agree with Blümner in rejecting the view of Pähler. For Sophocles always writes as a poet, not as a smith, and nobody who has any feeling for poetry can believe that he refers here to the shivering of steel except as a poet would refer to it,

'Where the lord of fought fields
Breaketh spear-shaft from spear,'

διακναιομένης ἐν προτελείοις κάμακος. It is the sword that shivers on the helmet that he is thinking of.

But Blümner proceeds to accuse Sophocles of ignorance; he thinks he means wrongly that steel becomes brittle through its treatment in the fire. As if Sophocles did not know what everybody knows, that heat softens steel, and what hardens it is the plunge in cold water! Already Homer knew that. Even if we fall back on the hammer theory, it is the hammering, not the heating, which gives the steel its temper.

What, then, did the poet really mean? It is incredible to me that he can have meant any but one thing, *steel hardened by dipping after being over-heated in the fire.* That such steel is brittle must have been known to every smith, probably to every soldier, in Athens. But Sophocles, with his allusive and elusive way of referring to things generally known, or for that matter to things hardly known save to professional men, has only spoken definitely of one half of the process, leaving the rest to be filled up. He might have said, had he been as prosaic as some people, ὀπτὸν ἐν τῷ πυρὶ καὶ βαφέντα περισκελῆ ἐκ τοῦ πυρός. But he has turned the words about in his mind until they have got into a form which is logically incorrect, and which puzzles readers who are unacquainted with what to his audience was perfectly familiar.

Lucretius, of whom Munro ironically remarks that 'among his poetical merits is not included that of leaving his reader to guess which of many possible meanings was the one he intended to convey,' puts the fact very plainly (vi. 968):

umor aquae porro ferrum condurat ab igni.

This *ab igni* seems to me much the same as *ἐκ πυρός*, whether the meaning be *after* or *from* the fire. Munro says that in Lucretius it is *after*, in Sophocles I think it is *from*. The steel is taken *out of* the fire, and hardened by the dipping.

To sum up, when the poet says 'burnt hard from the fire' it is a brachylogy for 'hardened by being taken from the fire and plunged in water.' A similar brachylogy is really existent in that other phrase, *Ajax* 650:

ὃς τὰ δείν' ἐκαρτέρουν τότε,
βαφῇ σίδηρος ὥς.

For to say 'as steel *endures* in the dipping' is ridiculous, and yet tense and sense of *ἐκαρτέρουν* both demand that translation. Here also Sophocles puts briefly what might be more clearly expressed by writing *ἐκαρτέρουν στομωθείς ὡς σίδηρος ἐν τῇ βαφῇ*.

θραυσθέντα and *ῥαγέντα* appear to be gnomic aorists. The meaning cannot be 'you may see it after it has shivered,' but 'see it shiver.' This use is not quite so rare in the participle as has been supposed; Goodwin (*Moods and Tenses*, § 30, note 5) only gives one instance from Thucydides, and one from *Ant.* 479, in the same sentence as that here under discussion, *οἶδα ἵππους καταρτυθέντας*. Another is Hesiod *Opp.* 267, *πάντα ἰδὼν Διὸς ὀφθαλμὸς καὶ πάντα νοήσας*, and in Thuc. ii. 60, 61, I believe that *ὁ γὰρ γνοὺς καὶ μὴ σαφῶς διδάξας* and *ὁ φυγὼν τὸν κίνδυνον* are gnomic also.

599. *νῦν γὰρ ἐσχάτας ὕπερ*
ῥίζας ἐτέτατο φάος ἐν Οἰδίπου δόμοις·
κατ' αὖ νιν φοινία θεῶν τῶν
νερτέρων ἀμᾷ κοπίς,
λόγου τ' ἄνοια καὶ φρενῶν Ἐρινύς.

ἐτέτατο seems to me right beyond all question; the defences set up for *ὁ τέτατο* may be ingenious, but alas! ingenuity is the mother of mischief; had Sophocles written comic opera, he might have cut down a light over a root with bloody knife or dust, but he was writing nothing of the sort. The only real objection to *ἐτέτατο* is the alleged asyndeton at *κατ' αὖ νιν*. But there is no asyndeton; *αὖ* is used by Homer over and over again as a connecting particle; take for a specimen *Iliad* xi. 104, 109, where twice in six lines *αὖ* is used for *δὲ* to answer *μέν*; and Sophocles is full of all kinds of reminiscences of Homer. I wish, however, that I could get a better example from him himself than *Ant.* 229, but even there *αὖ* is used in a way not unlike this; and at 167 *τοῦτ' αὖθις* answers *τοῦτο μέν*. Yet admit that *αὖ* could not be used as a connecting particle in tragedy; what then? Are asyndeta unknown? This would be a mere gnat to the asyndeton people swallow at 376.

Then what can be said—or rather what has *not* been said—in defence of *ἀμᾷ κόνις*? 'Cover' forsooth is the meaning of *ἀμᾷ*, and so dust has to cover a light! Or the dust is that which Antigone scattered on the body, and so means a sort of funeral, and nothing is more natural and poetical than for a

funeral to cut down a light. This sort of thing reminds one of Harriet Smith's endeavour to guess a charade in *Emma*, chap. ix., 'Mermaids and sharks! Nonsense! My dear Harriet, what are you thinking of?' Anything is better, it seems, than to allow a man to talk like a human being and say that what cuts is something with an edge to it.

But as common sense is a feather in the balance against grammatical rules and parallel passages, here are two parallels from the same poet: *Ajax* 1178, *γένους ἅπαντος ῥίζαν ἐξημημένος*, *frag.* 489, *ῥιζῶν κρύπτουσι τομὰς | ἃς ἡδὲ βοῶσ' ἐλαλαζομένη | γυμνὴ χαλκέοις ἧμα δρεπάνοις*. Evidently to Sophocles *ῥίζαν ἀμᾶν* was a familiar phrase; let someone produce *φάος ἀμᾶν* from him or from anyone else. It is plain as daylight that what *ἀμᾷ* has here to govern is not *φάος*, but *ῥίζαν*. And it is equally plain that what cuts, nor can the verb here mean anything else, must be something that can cut. You can say that the defeat of Austerlitz cut Pitt to the heart; Austerlitz may be compared to a dagger, well and good; you cannot say that the star of Napoleon or his grey overcoat cut Pitt to the heart, unless you want to get yourself laughed at. So a poet might say that the madness of Antigone or the death of Polynices cut down the last hope, but in no speech of mortal man, not even of an Irishman, could he say that the dust cast on the one by the other cut down a root or a light or a mermaid or anything else. And the MSS. do not even say that, nor anything like it, but only 'the dust of the lower gods.'

Jebb in his first edition called *κοπίς* a 'certain correction,' but afterwards became doubtful about it. The Schneidewin-Nauck-Bruhn edition says it cannot be right in a tragic chorus, because it only means a 'zum Hauen verwandte Schlacht- und Küchenmesser und ein von Barbaren getragener Säbel.' But *frag.* 808:

ὀργὴ γέροντος ὥστε μαλθακὴ κοπίς,

makes it clear that Sophocles used the word in a general way for a 'cutter' of any kind. It is as appropriate as *δρέπανον*. Jebb finds a difficulty in the 'want of unison with *λόγου τ' ἄνοια καὶ φρενῶν ἐρινύς*.' If these words be an explanation of either *κοπίς* or *κόνις*, Sophocles is so bad a poet that it were waste of time to linger over him. But if *τε* means 'and,' I think that *Oed. Col.* 371 shews the 'want of unison' to be no objection at all; Ismene then says that her brothers have quarrelled *ἐκ θεοῦ του κἀλιτηρίου φρενός*. So here the last hope is destroyed by the gods and by the rash heart of Antigone (*λόγου* by the way must here be 'reason,' not 'speech').

Yet as the words stand, it does look at first sight as if *τε—καὶ* meant 'both—and.' I have sometimes thought it would be better if we had *θεῶν τε νερτέρων*. Not only would the connection be plainer, but also we shall be rid of what has always seemed to me a curious piece of versification. I have printed the lines as given by the MSS., and that is the only possible arrangement; Schmidt's makes Sophocles end a strophe with an iambic tetrameter catalectic, which might be all very well in Aristophanes, but in tragedy!—one

might as well insert such a line in an ode of Shelley's.[1] But then *θεῶν τῶν* at the end of a line is to me disagreeable, though of course a foreigner can scarcely venture to judge on such a question, and *θεῶν τῶν νερτέρων* comes in 749, and *τὸν* ends 409. And *τε* coming between *θεῶν* and *νερτέρων* would so easily be corrupted.

However that may be, on the general meaning of the passage I would fight to the last drop of my ink. On the one view the greatest of Athenian poets is guilty of saying that 'the light which shone on the last root of the house of Oedipus is cut down by blood-stained dust and madness of heart,' on the other he says that 'the root on which the light shone is cut down by the knife of God and madness of heart.' Vtri creditis, Quirites?

750. KP. *ταύτην ποτ' οὐκ ἔσθ' ὡς ἔτι ζῶσαν γαμεῖς.*
AI. *ἥδ' οὖν θανεῖται καὶ θανοῦσ' ὀλεῖ τινά.*

The contrast between *ταύτην* and *ἥδε* is quite grotesque. Jebb's objection to *ἡ δ' οὖν* is that 'that phrase is properly used with the imperative, and has a defiant or scornful tone.' Precisely; is not Haemon defiant and scornful here? And the sense is just the same as would be given by the imperative, 'well then, let her die.' *ἥδε* would only be satisfactory after *ταύτην* if it meant *here*.

797. *τῶν μεγάλων πάρεδρος ἐν ἀρχαῖς.*

Considering this notorious line in itself (luckily there is no need to prove it corrupt) I should say the best correction would be *πὰρ γέρας ἀρχαῖον*. This certainly gives exactly the meaning wanted, and the letters are almost the same, especially when we reflect that L has *ργ* originally for *δρ* in *παρεδρος*.

But if this be right, it follows that a syllable is missing from the corresponding words *ἀθανάτων φύξιμος οὐδείς*. It is easy to suggest *ἐστ'* before *οὐδείς*, and if it now seems sacrilegious to touch a syllable of this ode (as seem it must), yet if *ἐστ'* had been there from the beginning it would have seemed equal sacrilege to turn it out. There is nothing unlyrical about *ἐστίν*, see e.g. *O. T.* 503, 1339, *O. C.* 694, 1556, etc.

Either the traditional metre of the line, or that which I now advocate, is possible; both types are alike to be found in the Chorus beginning at 944. In either case I feel convinced that the verses from *νικᾷ δ' ἐναργὴς* to *ἀρχαῖς* or *ἀρχαῖον* are Ionic (a possibility hinted by Schröder). For the diiambus at the start cf. Aesch. *Sept.* 707. In an ode on this subject of Love it is almost certain that there will be some Ionic versification.

955. *ζεύχθη δ' ὀξύχολος παῖς ὁ Δρύαντος*
Ἠδωνῶν βασιλεύς, κερτομίοις
ὀργαῖς, ἐκ Διονύσου

[1] The same monstrosity has been imported into *El.* 1420, 1440.

πετρώδει κατάφαρκτος ἐν δεσμῷ.
οὕτω τὰς μανίας δεινὸν ἀποστάζει
ἀνθηρόν τε μένος. κεῖ νος ἐπέγνω μανίαις
ψαύων τὸν θεὸν ἐν κερτομίοις γλώσσαις.

I print these lines as divided by the MSS., not in Schmidt's pestilential rearrangement, which ruins them. How anybody can suppose them to be anything but pure Ionic (as they are rightly called in the Schneidewin-Nauck edition) passes my comprehension; consider too the appropriateness of Ionic to the subject, remembering the riot of Ionics which revels in the *Bacchae*.

The language is tinged with medical colouring, and failure to observe this has led to strange alterations of the text and serious mistakes in interpretation.

ὀξύχολος does not mean 'swift to wrath' here whatever it does in Solon 13, 26, γίγνεται ὀξύχολος, and even in Solon how could Zeus '*become* swift to wrath'? He either *is* such or *becomes* hot-tempered. Yet certainly Solon is there speaking of the gods not being in a hurry to punish the wicked, and may have used γίγνεται somewhat incorrectly. But, in the best Greek, compounds of ὀξύς very seldom mean 'quick,' and most of the words so translated will not bear much inspection. Thus ὀξύθυμος is '*hot*-tempered,' but as a hot temper can in English be called 'quick,' and as indeed it comes to the same thing, the equivocation is easy. It is obvious for instance that ὀξυθυμηθεῖσα in Aristoph. *Wasps* 501 has nothing to do with 'swiftness,' and no more has ὀξυθυμῆς at Eur. *Andr.* 689. And here anyhow ὀξύχολος is carefully chosen to give the medical flavour of which Sophocles is so fond; χολὴ is the cause of anger, but not only that; it is also the cause for madness, and the madness of Lycurgus is here the important point; what has his temper to do with it? But the first half of the compound is medical too. φθινοπώρου δ' ἡ ὀξεῖα (χολή), says Galen (vol. xvii. A, p. 31), and ὀξὺς is perpetually used of fevers. We learn from Aristotle *de Partibus* IV. ii. 6 that in the opinion of Anaxagoras χολὴ was the cause τῶν ὀξέων νοσημάτων, and Sophocles must have known Anaxagoras. At *Phil.* 808 the attack ὀξεῖα φοιτᾷ καὶ ταχεῖ' ἀπέρχεται 'comes on *acutely* (not quickly) and goes off quickly.' (At *Ant.* 1238 φυσιῶν ὀξεῖαν ἐκβάλλει ῥοήν has also been mistranslated; φυσιῶν makes it obvious that ὀξεῖαν ῥοήν signifies 'sharp spurts of blood'; Haemon had driven the sword into his lungs and consequently gasped out blood from his mouth at every pant of his breath. Jebb's 'swift stream of the oozing blood' is really quite absurd. Compare Aesch. *Ag.* 1389 where ψακάδι makes it plain that the poet is thinking of a breath charged with fine drops of blood.)

ὀξύχολος then here may have seemed to the more ignorant among the audience to mean nothing but 'hot-tempered,' but for anyone capable of understanding the delicacies of language it suggested a fevered state and madness. To translate it is impossible.

Then ἀποστάζει in medical language does not mean 'flows away' or 'passes off'; it means simply 'drip.' Hippocrates, vol. i., p. 167, uses the

word in a sadly undignified context, *μυκτὴρ ἐν τουτέοισιν ἀποστάζων ὀλέθριον*, and see other references in Stephanus under *ἀποστάζω* and *ἀπόσταξις*.

Again *ἀνθηρὸν* is often used in various senses by the medical writers. Galen (vol. xvii. A, p. 329), commenting on Hippocrates, says: *ὑπανθηρὸν δὲ λέγει τὸ ὕφαιμον καὶ ὑπέρυθρον, καθάπερ καὶ ἀνθηρὰ πτύσματα καλεῖται τὰ ἐρυθρὰ καὶ ὕφαιμα καὶ πρόσωπον ἀνθηρὸν καὶ ἐρύθημα ὑπέρυθρον σημαίνει κ.τ.λ.* Hippocrates, vol. i., p. 602, *ἔπτυσεν ἀφρώδεα, ἀρχομένη δὲ ἀνθηρά.*

But it would be a great mistake to press the language of Sophocles unduly. Lest any unpoetical soul should argue that the particular kind of madness which is attended by foaming at the mouth is epilepsy, that epilepsy is *ἱερὴ νοῦσος* and Lycurgus was afflicted with madness from a god, that *ἀποστάζει ἀνθηρὸν μένος* refers to the dripping of froth in this disease (Hipp. vol. i., pp. 585, 600; Galen, vol. xvii. B, p. 544), that the case of Lycurgus was connected with the Bacchic worship, and epilepsy comes of over-indulgence in wine (Galen, vol. i., p. 661), and so on, I will observe that the medical theory ascribed epilepsy not to *χολὴ* but to *φλέγμα* (Hipp. vol. i., p. 595), and consequently the epithet *ὀξύχολος* will not suit the diagnosis. No, the poet allows his language to be coloured with medical terms, but he writes with the vagueness proper to poetry in such a case.

The meaning of *ἀποστάζει* however is of great importance in its bearing upon the interpretation of the passage. If it only means 'drip,' then the view that the *οὕτω* clause refers to the gradual recovery of Lycurgus is wrong. And there are two other grave objections to that view. First, the historic present; it is notorious that this is never used by Pindar, and it is hardly used by Sophocles in lyrical passages; there is something about it which is alien to the lyrical spirit, unless in very exceptional contexts, such as *Phil.* 728. Secondly, the *κεῖνος* of the next clause. If the *οὕτω* clause is a general reflexion—'so terrible is madness'—*κεῖνος* is correct. If the *οὕτω* clause referred already to Lycurgus, *κεῖνος* would be inexplicable. Those therefore are right who take the words to mean: 'so dread is the frothing violence of madness.'

But the misinterpretation of these lines draws another mistake in its train. *ζεύχθη* cannot mean 'was tamed'; when and where does this verb mean anything of the sort? The notion that there is any difference of sense required here because of the simple *ζεύχθη* after the compound *κατεζεύχθη* in 946 is merely due to ignorance of the poetical figure by which a simple word may echo its compound. I confine myself here to giving the following illustrations from the single play of *Philoctetes*, omitting any cases when any reasonable difference in meaning might be suggested; 329. *ἐξερῶ μόλις δ' ἐρῶ*, 663. *εἰσορᾶν—ἰδεῖν*, 911. *ἐκλιπών—λιπών*, 1382. *καταισχύνει—αἰσχύνοιτο*. The opposite device is also common enough, e.g. *Ph.* 216, *βοᾷ—προβοᾷ*, 1241. *κωλύσει—ἐπικωλύσων*.

966. παρὰ δὲ Κυανεᾶν πελάγει διδύμας ἁλὸς
ἀκταὶ Βοσπορίαι ἠδ' ὁ Θρηκῶν — ⏑ —
Σαλμυδησσός, ἵν' ἀγχίπολις Ἄρης
δισσοῖσι Φινείδαις
εἶδεν ἀρατὸν ἕλκος κ.τ.λ.

κυανέων MSS. corr. Wieseler. πελάγεων MSS. corr. Jebb. The difficulties of the strophe are scarcely cleared up yet, nor perhaps is it possible to do much unless light shine upon us from Egypt. That a word is lost, that the hiatus after Βοσπορίαι is incredible, that both ἠδ' and ἀγχίπολις Ἄρης fail to correspond to the antistrophe, all this is obvious. But there are even more difficulties involved.

What is the construction of Κυανεᾶν πελάγει διδύμας ἁλός? Two genitives depending on one noun are common enough. But I believe, speaking under correction, that in all such instances the genitive, which is *more* intimately connected with the governing noun, is not itself qualified by an adjective, though the *less* intimately connected may be so qualified. Thus at *Ajax* 616 we have ἔργα χεροῖν μεγίστας ἀρετᾶς. Here ἔργα χεροῖν is equivalent to a compound, upon which compound again depends μεγίστας ἀρετᾶς. But could we say ἔργα κρατεροῖν χεροῖν ἀρετᾶς? I think it will be admitted that such a phrase is, to say the least, very strange, or at any rate that it could only be explained as meaning 'deeds of valour of mighty arms,' which would be altogether different. The nearest exception that I know is *Ant.* 929, τῶν αὐτῶν ἀνέμων αὗται ψυχῆς ῥιπαί, but there τῶν αὐτῶν really agrees *in sense* with ῥιπαί, and is irrationally attracted into the genitive. Substitute μεγάλων ἀνέμων ψυχῆς ῥιπαί, and you at once see that it is impossible.

But if this be so, Κυανεᾶν πελάγει διδύμας ἁλὸς is no longer permissible. For if Κυανεᾶν depend on the compound phrase πελάγει ἁλός, then διδύμας cannot be added to ἁλός. If we fall back upon making Κυανεᾶν depend on ἁλὸς alone (as in 'deeds of valour of arms') we get a perfectly intolerable expression. Nor can we make διδύμας ἁλός depend on Κυανεᾶν πελάγει, which would be equally intolerable.

Then too it is pretty plain from the Scholia that ἵνα once stood in a different place, for the scholiast bids us take it with ἀκταί. Is not Blaydes right in proposing to read ἵν' for ἠδ'? especially if we adopt Jebb's κληΐζεται after Θρηκῶν, which has always looked to me much the best supplement.

Moreover it strikes me as altogether unlike Sophocles to construct a sentence in such a manner as 'and by the waters of the Blue Rocks is the Thracian Salmydessus, where Ares saw the sons of Phineus blinded.' Why in the world should he have expressed in such a contorted way a plain statement? Simple he is not in many things, but this does not look like his handicraft to me at any rate.

Well, if in so desperate a business one may resort to a revel of licentious conjecture, I should guess that what he wrote was something like this:

παρὰ δὲ Κυανεᾶν πελάγει διδύμας θ' ἁλὸς
ἀκταῖς Βοσπορίαις, ἵν' ὁ Θρηκῶν κληίζεται
Σαλμυδησσός, Ἄρης ἀγχίπολις κ.τ.λ.

Or maybe ἀκτᾷ Βοσπορίας, which will account better for the corruption. The other changes involved are all of a familiar kind enough; words do get transposed in all sorts of ways.

1039. τάφῳ δ' ἐκεῖνον οὐχὶ κρύψετε,
οὐδ' εἰ θέλουσ' οἱ Ζηνὸς αἰετοὶ βορὰν
φέρειν νιν ἁρπάζοντες ἐς Διὸς θρόνους.

οὐδ' εἰ A, οὐ δὴ L. The editors seem to feel no difficulty about κρύψετε οὐδ' εἰ θέλουσι, and yet is it not very strange? Of course a future in the apodosis may answer εἰ with a present indicative, and we should not see anything strange in such a sentence as: 'I will not go, even if you now wish it,' but no poet could say: 'you shall not bury him, even if the vultures are now willing to rend him, etc.' It is too absurdly feeble. Clearly we want such a protasis as οὐδ' ἢν θέλωσιν, and that is what the reading of L points to.

It may be suggested that we should regard θέλουσι φέρειν as in a sort of way equal to a future. Thus οὐ μὴ cannot take a present subjunctive, and yet Xenophon can say οὐ μή σοι δύνωνται ἀντέχειν (*Hiero.* xi. 15) apparently because it is somehow equal to οὐ μή σοι ἀνθέξουσιν. To my own feeling however θέλουσι φέρειν does not seem capable of bearing the strain. The whole question is perhaps largely one of poetical taste; but that the difficulty really exists may be seen from Jebb's translation: 'no, though the eagles of Zeus *should* bear.'

1232. πτύσας προσώπῳ κοὐδὲν ἀντειπών, ξίφους
ἔλκει διπλοῦς κνώδοντας.

It has become fashionable of late to insist upon Haemon's spitting in his father's face. Without objecting to that conduct in itself, one may yet doubt whether Sophocles meant us so to understand the words. 'Spitting in his face and answering nothing' does look to me a quite ridiculous expression both in the Greek and in the English. Could a more frigid anticlimax be devised? And in the second place the psychology appears to be wrong. He who spits in the face of another expresses utter contempt, he shews by it that he does not consider his opponent as a man who deserves to be treated as an equal or one from whom any reprisals may be expected. Nor does he follow it up by an attempt to kill him in a moment of passion. The furious anger which shakes Haemon would never vent itself in that way. Such passion as makes a man draw his sword upon his father does not stop to think, not for a second, and spitting is the expression of a comparatively reflective state of mind. The mood of absolute contempt could not be at once succeeded by this flaming outburst. A man might draw his sword first and then think better of it and

subside into contempt, as does Achilles in his quarrel with Agamemnon, but not the other way about. Never has any poet shown himself a greater master of psychology than has Sophocles in his presentation of Haemon, and it is hard to believe that he could have ended it with such a blunder.

Nor does the previous line countenance this translation. Haemon 'glares at him with wild eyes.' Is this the description of a man about to spit? Try the experiment for yourself; glare at an enemy coming in through the door, and you will find that your lips (or at any rate your teeth) are at once pressed tight together, so that spitting is the last thing possible. Or again imagine yourself proposing to treat him in that undignified matter, and your eyes will assume a calm and amused expression at once.

I confess also that I am not satisfied that *προσώπῳ* could have the meaning required; the datives alleged as parallels are not so strong.

So though the scholiast's note on the passage as a whole is ridiculous, I yet think he was right in saying that *πτύσας* is here metaphorical.

The words *αὐτῷ χολωθεὶς* in 1235, if they have any bearing on the question at all, favour the scholiast. They shew that Haemon was ashamed and remorseful for a sudden gust of fury.

1320. *ἐγώ, φάμ' ἔτυμον. ἰὼ πρόσπολοι.*

This line ought to correspond to 1342, of which the right reading is almost certainly

πρὸς πότερον ἴδω, πᾷ κλιθῶ· πάντα γάρ.

The simplest way of making it do so is to read *ἰὼ ἰώ*. The first *ἰὼ* will be a monosyllable, and will lengthen the preceding short syllable. See Munro's *Criticisms and Elucidations of Catullus*, p. 136, and *Phil.* 759.

ARTHUR PLATT.

EMENDATIONS OF CLAUDIAN.

SINCE the appearance of Th. Birt's monumental edition of Claudian in 1892, followed in the next year by the Teubner one of Julius Koch, but little has been done for the text of a poet who for more reasons than one deserves something better than neglect. And I shall be glad if the publication of the ensuing notes draws the attention of scholars to the work that has yet to be done. The majority of my corrections were made some sixteen years ago; but only two have seen the light, and these merely in passing mention, *Laus Serenae* 86 sqq. in my review of the two editions, *Classical Review* IX p. 167 *b*, and *Panegyricus dictus Probino et Olybrio cons.* 48 sqq in my note on Lucan VII 755 (1896).

Panegyricus dictus Probino et Olybrio consulibus 48 sqq.

praeceps illa manus fluuios superabat Hiberos
aurea dona uomens *si quis* tellure reuulsa
sollicitis fodiens *miratur* collibus *aurum*
quantum stagna Tagi rudibus stillantia uenis
effluxere decus, quanto pretiosa metalli
Hermi ripa micat, quantas per Lydia culta
despumat rutilas diues Pactolus harenas.

49 *si quis* L W F B, *quis* P *sic* add. P^1, *sic quis* Claverii vetus, *sic quid* T, *sed quis* Vossianus et Leidensis apud Jeepium, *quantum* corr. Leid. idem. 50 *sollicitus* W, *miretur* Clauerii optimus, *rimatur* Isengr. mg. prob. Scaligero.

Such, according to Birt, is the tradition of this passage, which is admittedly corrupt. The suggestions hitherto made for its correction—*si quid* Scaliger, *sicut* Mommsen—do not touch the real difficulty; which is that Claudian, who is comparing the liberality of Probus to the streams of alluvial gold which enrich men without an effort of their own, is made suddenly to compare it to the gold which is wearily mined from out the mountains which imbed it. What business then, with any of the above conjectures, has '*sollicitis fodiens* collibus' between '*praeceps* manus' '*fluuios* superabat Hiberos' 'aurea dona *uomens*' and '*stagna* Tagi' 'Hermi *ripa*' 'despumat Pactolus'? This difficulty is but increased by the proposal of Ritschl to insert a line and to read 'uomens <quorum non aequet aceruos | semper inexhaustos> si quis tellure reuulsa |

s.f. miratur collibus aurum.' It is not removed by Birt's (*sic uix*—aurum) (tale uix est aurum quod fossor (siue fodiens) in metallis plenis sollicitudinis miratur) even if we grant that 'sic uix' can be fairly thus construed. I propose *q u a e uix*. *Quae uix* became *quix* by the slipping of the copyist's eye from the first *u* to the second; of this stage we have a trace in P's reading *quis*. The *s* of *si*, *sed*, *sic* appears to be a dittography from 'uomens.' With this change (*uix* 'with difficulty' is of course to be taken with 'reuulsa' and 'fodiens') and with *miretur* the sentence is intelligible; but it may be doubted whether its words are Claudian's. Not only is *aurum* superfluous after *aurea*, but, what is more important, Claudian appears to have studiously avoided repetitions in the sequel 'uenis—decus' 'metalli' 'rutilas harenas.' There is another difficulty. Elsewhere in this passage Claudian in magnifying the bounty of Probus uses *particular* examples; here only is the reference general. And as if to heighten the incongruity the gold-miner in general appears between the rivers of Spain 'fluuios—Hiberos' and a river of the same peninsula, the Tagus. Köstlin must have felt the difficulty to make him conjecture '*Delmaticis*' for '*sollicitis*,' to which there is the obvious objection that the proper name should not be fetched from Dalmatia if it can be found in Spain. If we compare *Laus Serenae* (*carm. min.* 30) 74 sqq. 'Cantaber Oceanus uicino litore gemmas | expuit; *effossis* nec *pallidus* Astur oberrat | *montibus*: oblatum sacris natalibus *aurum* | uulgo uena *uomit*' we can hardly doubt that it is *A s t u r*. The corruption was easy. '*Astur*' was written '*astrū*,' just as in Catullus iv 27 *castor* was written *castrū*, and '*aurum*' for '*astrum*' was an obvious emendation. *Fodere* does not require an object, as the lexicons will show.

In Rufinum I 149 sqq.

> nec me latuere fluentes
> arboribus suci funestarumque potestas
> herbarum. quidquid letali *gramine* pollens
> Caucasus et Scythicae uernant in *gramina* rupes,
> quas legit Medea ferox et callida Circe.

The excellent Ambrosianus (XV century) has *germine* in 151 and this Birt accepts. But *gramine*, the reading of the rest, is supported by e.g. Prop. II 1 53 'seu mihi Circaeo pereundum est *gramine*'; and *er* is often substituted for an overwritten *ra*. In 152 *gramina* seems to be due to the 'Excerpta,' the rest having *gramine*. The tradition is clearly corrupt; and Birt conjectures *toxica*, Heinsius *carmina*. But the word wanted appears to be *c r i m i n a* (i.e. *ueneficia*), cf. 'funestarum' 'letali.' I see no ground for suspecting 151.

In Rufinum II 488 sqq.

> qui iusto plus esse loquax arcanaque sueuit
> prodere, piscosas fertur *uicturus* in undas
> ut nimiam pensent aeterna silentia uocem.

In the metamorphosis of the guilty in the world below the 'uolgator arcani' becomes an ἔλλοψ ἰχθύς. But this transformation is neither expressed nor suggested by *uicturus* which is worse than superfluous. Birt, whose infelicity in verbal emendation we shall have further occasion to notice, proposed *taciturnus* when he ought to have proposed *taciturus*. To this participle it may possibly be objected that it does not of itself show that the chatterer becomes a fish while it does anticipate the *aeterna silentia* of the next line. *Naturus*, which is said however not to occur in extant literature, 'to join the swimming creatures' (*natantes*, as in Verg. *G.* 3. 541, Columella X. 203), would meet this objection.

In Eutropium I 49 sqq.

fecundum corporis *ignem*
sedibus exhaurit geminis unoque sub ictu
eripit officium patris nomenque mariti.

ignem is manifestly corrupt. But the old correction *inguen* is inadmissible if only for the reason that *corpus* itself is used in the same sense. We should write *imbrem*. The two words are confused in Lucr. 1. 784 sq., Catullus lxii. 7 and elsewhere. For *fecundum imbrem* we have an exact parallel in παιδογόνῳ ῥαθάμιγγι Nonnus xxv. 416 in a precisely similar connexion.

In Eutropium II 229 sqq.

sic fata repente
in diram se uertit auem rostroque recuruo
turpis et *infernis* tenebris obscurior alas
auspicium ueteri sedit ferale sepulcro.

The Vulgate reading is *infernas*, on which Koch observes '*infernis* ex solo A recepi; neque enim intellegeretur qua lege alae ipsae infernae dicerentur, requiritque etiam *tenebris* suum epitheton.' There is more weight in his first argument than in his second. If the *-is* of the excellent Ambrosianus is not a mere assimilation to the following ablative, it can be used to provide us with an epithet for *alas* which the balance of the verse shows us ought to have one. Accusatives in *-ēs* are not uncommon in Claudian; instances may be gathered from the readings of the MSS reported by Birt *praef.* pp. ccviii sq. And an original *informis* would be readily corrupted to *infernis*. We see from *Rapt.* I 101 sq. 'tertia supremae patior dispendia sortis | *informes*que plagas' that this epithet is suitable to the infernal world, with which Bellona is here connected whatever reading we adopt (cf. supra 144 sq. 'quid dudum inflare moraris | Tartaream, Bellona, tubam?').

Epithalam. Honorii 52 sqq.

> hunc neque candentes audent uestire pruinae
> hunc uenti pulsare timent, hunc laedere nimbi
> luxuriae uenerique uacat.

Birt and Koch both assign weight to the order in the Homeric parallel *Od.* VI. 43 sqq. *οὔτ' ἀνέμοισι τινάσσεται οὔτε ποτ' ὄμβρῳ | δεύεται, οὔτε χιὼν ἐπιπίλναται· ἀλλὰ μάλ' αἴθρη | πέπταται ἀνέφελος*, as supporting the latter's transposition of vv. 52, 53. But if a poet cannot vary from his predecessor to the extent of mentioning snow (after all, the most noticeable feature of high mountains) before he mentions winds and rain-clouds, I do not know what he is to be allowed to do. It is more astonishing that they should both also note and disregard Claudian's employment of *neque;* 'deest praeterquam in *neque enim* et in correlatione sed ita ut semper in primo membro ponatur,' Birt *index* s.u. It is clear that the second 'hunc' has been engendered by the first, H^c having been written for N^c, and that we should read

> *n e c* uenti pulsare ; timent hunc laedere nimbi.

De Bello Gothico 151 sqq.

> hic celer effecit bruma ne longior aetas
> esset hiems rerum, primis sed mensibus aestas
> temperiem caelo pariter *bello*que referret.

Stilicho is compared to the great men of old who have dispersed the clouds of the winter of Rome's 'discontent': but *bello* is meaningless as Birt has seen, though his *regno* is both unlikely and unsuitable. *Latio* (Koch) is better. But the true correction appears to be *p a t r i a e* which, written *patrie*, fell out after *pariter*. Compare the thought in Horace *carm.* IV 5. 5 sqq. '*lucem redde* tuae, dux bone, *patriae;* | instar *ueris* enim uoltus ubi tuus | adfulsit populo, gratior it dies | et soles melius nitent.' *Bello* then is a stupid scribe's insertion from the context; *bellum* occurs in 150.

Carm. min. xxvi. 11 sqq.

> alto colle minor, planis erectior aruis
> conspicuo cliuus molliter orbe tumet
> ardentis fecundus aquae ; quacumque cauernas
> perforat, offenso truditur igne latex,
> spirat putre solum conclusaque subter anhelo
> pumice rimosas *perforat* unda uias.

In this description of the hot spring Aponus the repeated *perforat* of v. 16 is intolerable, as Crusius (*personat*) Buecheler (*permeat*) and Koch, who prints *perfodit*, have seen. But we should read *p e r f u r i t* and compare *Rapt.* I. 173 sqq. 'Siue quod obicibus discurrens uentus opertis | *offenso* (v. 13) *rimosa f u r i t p e r* saxa meatu | dum scrutatur *iter* libertatemque reposcens |

putria multiuagis populatur flatibus antra' with its striking correspondences of diction. The construction is that of Statius *Theb.* IV 387 sqq. 'aut tumidum *Gangen* aut *claustra* nouissima Rubrae | Tethyos Eoasque *domos* flagrante triumpho | *perfuris*.

Carm. min. xxx. (*Laus Serenae*) 86 sqq.

nec tua mortalis meruit cunabula nutrix.
ubera prima dabant gremio redolente Napaeae
ternaque *te* nudis innectens Gratia membris
adflauit docuitque loqui.

innectens as a passive or middle participle is devoid of authority and without any parallel in Claudian. For the sense we require either *innexa* (*nexa*) or a reflexive pronoun after the verb. With *adflauit* again no *te* is needed. For it is a feature of Claudian's style to omit the object after a verb when it can be readily supplied, as Birt has shown *Praef.* p. ccxxv § 10; while on the other hand he is very fond of the reflexive turn, even where other writers would have preferred a passive ib. p. ccxxii V § 3. *Eutrop.* I 293 'Cadmus *se uertit* in anguem' is a notable example. I would therefore read with the change of a single letter 'se nudis innectens' and take *se* in the reciprocal sense expressed by *uicissim* in *carm. min.* xxv (xxxi) 8 sq. 'triplexque *uicissim* | *nexa* sub ingenti requiescit *Gratia* quercu.'

Carm. min. xxxvi. 5, 6.

non illum constrinxit hiems, non Sirius *axis*,
aetatis spatium non tenuauit edax.

This is from one of the septet of poems on the *crystallus cui aqua inerat*. For *axis*, which most MSS offer, the Vatican has *ardens*, which, as Koch says, appears to have come from *Rufin.* I 241; otherwise *Sirius ardor* with a semicolon at *hiems* might have been conjectured. *Axis* is equally hard to understand and to account for; but with it too *Sirius* must be an adjective and the punctuation the same as before. Birt, whom Koch follows, reads *auxit* for it; but *auxit* cannot be put for 'thawed.' I can think of nothing suitable nearer than *hausit* 'swallowed,' i.e. 'dried up.'

Carm. min. xlvi.

Non semper clipei metuendum gentibus orbem
dilecto studiosa parens *fabricabat* Achilli
Lemnia nec semper supplex ardentis adibat
antra dei, nato galeam *factura* comantem,
sed placidos etiam cinctus et mitia pacis
ornamenta dabat bello quibus ille peracto

conspicuus reges inter fulgeret Achiuos.
ipsa manu chlamydes ostro texebat et auro,
frenaque quae uolucrem Xanthum Baliumque decerent
aequore quaesitis onerabat sedula gemmis.

In 4 Heinsius with reason changed *factura* to p*actura*. For Thetis did not make any helmet for her son; what she could and did *make* for him is set forth in 8-10. But it is useless to expel *factura* if *fabricabat* is allowed to remain; for, if Thetis did not make the helmet, still less did she 'manufacture' the Shield. What she did do was to *get* the Shield *made with all haste*. This could be expressed by *properabat*. For this sense we may cite Hor. *Epod.* xii. 21 sqq. 'muricibus Tyriis iteratae uellera lanae | cui *properabantur?* tibi nempe, | ne foret aequalis inter conuiua, magis quem | diligeret mulier sua quam te.' I should explain the corruption thus: *pro*, written compendiously, fell out before *perabat*, which was then read as *parabat* and changed to a word that would scan. This is not the only place in this collection where the corrector has been at work.

Rapt. Proserp. II. 359 sq.

impexamque senex uelauit harundine frontem
portitor et uacuos egit cum carmine remos.

Claudian is describing the effects of a golden age of peace and righteousness. One of these is that the ferryman of the dead has no passengers to convey. The *Raptus* is rather a foolish epic; but we may doubt if its author would have been so inept as to picture Charon spending his holiday in rowing his empty boat about; for *egit remos = remigauit*. There is another difficulty. If this is the meaning, *egit* should have been a present in order to contrast properly with *uelauit* (aorist). Both these difficulties are removed by Birt's *sedat*, which however is exposed to other objections and in particular is too far from the MSS. I would suggest *legit*, in the sense of 'gathered up.' That *legere* could be applied to *remi* is shown by *Aen.* V. 209 'fractosque legunt in gurgite remos.' The phrase *legere uela* may have suggested its employment here.

J. P. Postgate.

POESEOS SAECVLI SEXTI FRAGMENTA QVATTVOR.

QVATTVOR haec poematia, quae et Baehrensii et Riesii oculos uidentur effugisse, neque inter *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* locum inueniunt, exhibet *codex Bodleianus* 38 (*β*). Primi poematis uersus 1-4 exstant etiam in *cod. Brit. Mus., Reg.* 15 *A* vii (*M*): cf. Baehrens *P L M* v. *p.* 348: in *cod. Luneburgensi* (*L*) quem Wernsdorfius *P L M* vi. *p.* 235 adhibuit: in *cod. Bibl. Cathedr. Patauinae*, de quo uide Fontanini, *Hist. Lit. Aquil. p.* 49, Tomasini *Bibl. Patau. p.* 8: et in *editione* Maximiani quae *Germanica* dicitur. Porro *vv.* 1-8 in *cod. Vossiano* (V) apud Wernsdorfium *P L M l.c.*, 1-9 in codice meo, *Sneydianae* olim *Collectionis*, saec. xiii (O), leguntur.

Poemata iii-iv intra annos 534-536 fuisse scripta ex eo apparet quod iii. 17, iv. 10 Theodahatus appellatur, Gothorum ille rex et Amalasunthae in imperio consors. Insulam de qua loquitur poeta coicio insulam Martam esse in lacu Tarquiniensi sitam: de qua alio loco fusius disseram.

Perpauca in textu correxi: ex quibus nonnulla monente Postgatio.

i

Praemia tot formae numeret quis uoce secunda,
quaeue potest laudes dicere musa tuas?
Quamuis normalis intendam promere uoces,
deficiunt uerba: pectus anhelat amans.
Esse Paris uellem: Helenae quid fama teneris
in pretio? poterit cedere nuda Venus.
Cum similes caro crines religantur in auro,
uincuntur meritis flaua metalla tuis.
Lilia blanda micant grato distincta nitore
utque ebenus pulcro ebore mixta nitet.
Regnat in ore decus quod tincxit rubor alumnus
ut cedant labiis uicta roseta tuis.
Lactea colla tibi fulgent quasi lilia multa,
†uernantur meritis membra decora tuis.†
Quisne parum tumidas †delecto uentre papillas
non tractet manibus, poma fecunda, suis?

Quam castigatus plano sub pectore uenter,
quantum et quale latus, quam iuuenile femur!
Inguina pulcra latent magnae sub imagine formae:
his nequeo testis inscius esse quidem.

1. Praemia *om.* M. forê M. num. M: numeres *ed. Germ.* numerat V. secunda O: fecunda β: facunda V, *fort. recte* cf. 16: fatenda *ed. Germ.* sonora M: sonora *uel* canora *Postgate, coll. Lygdam.* iv. 69. 2. quodque *ed. Germ.* quaeque M. 3. quamuis *om.* M: normal' (=normalis) O: uotiuas β: nociuas M: nociuas *ed. Germ.* intendam β: *om.* M: intendat O: intendere *ed. Germ.* promere O β M: dicere *ed. Germ.* (*an uolebat* ducere?). destituunt *ed. Germ.* hanela (anhela M) meum M *ed. Germ.* am$^{a}_{e}$ns β. 5. Essem uelle Paris β^1 *corr. marg.* β^2: quid *Postgate:* quia O: qua β. 6. pretio O β^2 *marg.* praemio β^1: gremio B^2 *marg. cf. Baehrens P L M. v. lxxvii.* 81-86. cedere *scripsi:* tedare β: te dare O. 7. cum similes *Postgate:* consimiles O: dum similes auro β. 9. micans O. districta O. 10. pulchra β. 14. uernantur *inusitate pro* uernant *positum.* 15. deiecta (*uel* reiecta) ueste *Postgate coll. Catull.* 66. 81. 16. tractae β facunda β. 17, 18 = *Ou. Am.* I 5. 21 *sq. ut adnotauit Postgate.* 19. latet β magna . . . forma β.

ii

Lux oculis, lux blanda, meis lux mentibus apta:
sic se fert clarum Lucifer ante diem.
Me Veneris retines constrictum blanda catenis:
†dum sub perdideris† tunc ego liber ero.
Non aliter Leander gelidis remeabat in undis,
†inter quem dubio† uincere fecit amor.
Haud secus Adchilles arsit Briseide flaua:
idem uictus erat cognitor ipse sui.
Sic Phoebi quondam cruciauit pectora Daphne,
incenditque animum—plusque negando magis.
Hos aliter sors ista cremat: plus denique feruet
quem tu respicies: corpora grata trahis.
Nunc anulus cuperem fieri dilectus in auro,
ut manibus teneris tu mea membra regas.
Obsequio facili semper tibi uinctus haberer
circlo dum religo corpus idemque tuum.
Si nostram in ceris cupias mutare figuram,
applicitum labris oscula blanda dabis.

2. se fert: *Postgate:* refert β. 4. per subdideris β^2 *marg.* 5. remeabat in undis: remeauit ad undas *Manilius* 5. 610 *ubi* re(g)nauit ad undas(is) *codd.* 6. *fort.* inter *a*quam dubi*um:* iter quem dubium *Postgate. coll.* (*Ou.*) *Her.* 18. 52. 7. bersaide flamm$^{i}_{a}$s β^1: *corr.* β^2: *marg.* 8. sui *cum vas. ex* suis β. 9. Phebum β. pectore. β dacnes β^2 *marg.* 10. incenditque β^2 *marg.* inciditque β^1. animo β. (*Intellegas* incenditque animum, eoque plus incendit quo magis negat.) 12. repi^{s}cies β (s *sscr* β^2). corpore β. rapta *Postgate.* 13. *Postgate confert Ou. Am.* II 15. 1. '*an* iunctus?'

Postgate. 16. cirdodum (?) relego *β*. circulo β^2 *marg.* 17. inceris *β*. 18. ad placitum β^2 *marg. Interpretaberis* '(circulum) applicitum labris blande osculaberis' *ut sit constructio ad sensum.* oscula blanda dabis: *cf. Maximianus ii.* 14.

iii

Quisquis ad excelsi tendis fastigia montis,
et uarium miraris opus, dum singula lustras
aspice deuictas ullo sine funere gentes:
non opus est conferre manus, caecoque furore
casibus incertis dubiam committere uitam:
cedunt arma loco: pugnant pro milite rupes:
turriti scopuli atque adiectae molibus arces
undarumque minae praeruptaeque undique ripae
et tremulum quo pergis iter pendente ruina
promittunt certam per tot discrimina uitam.
stat muris innixa domus, compendia paruum
distendunt spatium: recubans de culmine tuta
prospicit et placido fruitur custodia lecto.
nec munisse locum satis est: iuuat eminus arcem
conspicere, et blando uocat intra moenia uultu.
quae tibi pro tali soluantur munere uota,
Theodade potens, cuius sapientia mundo
prospiciens, castris nec †prominus esset† in istis,
artem naturae permiscuit, utile pulchro?
magna quidem uirtus, bello prosternere gentes;
sed melius nec bella pati, cum laude quietis.
et titulo pietatis erit tot credere demptos,
quot populos tua castra regunt, instante ruina.

1. adexcelsi *β*. *cf. P. L. Aeu. Kar. Dümmler* ii. *p.* 425. v: *ib. p.* 659. xiii: *Fortunatus, Leo,* i. 2. 1. 3. gentes β^2 *marg.* gressus β^1. 12. recub$^{a}_{e}$ns β^1: recubant β^2 *marg.* tutam β^1. cuncta β^2 *marg.* 13. concordia β^2 *marg.* 14. minuisse *β*. 15. uultu β^2 *marg.* luctu β^1. 17. Theoda depotens *β*. 18. quominus β^2 *marg.* neu quo minor *Postgate.* 22. titulum pietatis erit β^1: titulo pietas aderit β^2 *marg.*

iv

Quod micat ornatum pulcro munimine saxum
hoc quondam nullis utile rebus erat.
Hic tantum pelagi uolucres residere solebant,
cum freta turbatis aestuarentur aquis.
Nunc seruant noua castra uiros; licet horrida bella
stent circum, hoc septus uertice tutus eris.
Saxa, lacus, rupes, pontes, pugnacula, turres,
tot species uitae quot loca mortis habent.

Viderat hunc scopulum lustrans sua litora solers
Theodadus atque aridi squalida terga soli.
'Aspera, nulla potens producere germina, tellus,
at melius,' dixit, 'condita ferre potes.'
Caeduntur scopuli, decorantur culmina muri,
fitque decus subito, nuper id horror erat.
Nunc uarios fructus diuersaque pignera seruat
diues ab ingrato cespite facta magis.
Resque uiles nimium pretii modo reddita <tanti>
quantum tuta salus grataque uita ualet.
At tibi dent superi tranquillae tempora uitae
per quem nos scopuli duraque saxa iuuant.
Ipsaque, si posset, grates natura referret,
quae quas non genuit laeta ministrat opes.
Quis tam diuerso concludens atria cultu
miscuit urbanis ruris amoena locis ?
Inter tecta domus syluas miramur et undas,
atque uno fruimur tempore cuncta simul.
Hic gelidi fcntes, hic dulces arboris umbrae,
hic uideas toto quidquid in orbe placet.
Impendet uitreis sublimis platanus undis,
aspectoque suo gurgite sylua tremit.
Dumque niger patula contexitur arbore lucus
frigida torpentes adiuuat umbra lacus.
Aestibus in mediis uiridi sub fronde canora
uernat auis, resonant atria, tecta, nemus.
Et quae sola nimis poterant diuisa placere
amplius haec duplo mixta decore nitent.

Titulus De Saxo Vario Decore Ornato *β*. *vv.* 2-36 *scr. rec. m. β*. 6. erit *β*. 7. pons β^2 *marg.* propugnacula *β*. 10. *fort.* Theudadus. 15. seruat *Postgate :* seruant *β*. 17. *fort.* resque nimis uiles. tanti *addidi*. 20. per nos quem *β*. 26. *notandum* fruimur *cum accusatiuo positum*. 29. *ne in* platanus sublimis in undas *corrigas monent* c̄bore rūbor fĕcunda *ex poematio i*. 30. suas *β*. 33. uiridis (*sic*) *β*. 36. *uersus in imo marg. prioris fol. repetitus*.

H. W. Garrod.

RESTORATIONS AND EMENDATIONS IN LIVY I–V

During the last twelvemonth we have been engaged in finally preparing for press the first volume (I.-V.) of our text of Livy in the *Bibliotheca Classica Oxoniensis*, and we now desire to submit beforehand to the judgement of scholars some of the chief alterations in the current text that we have been led to adopt. It will be seen that some proportion of them consist of little more than a defence of the MS tradition; and where we have proposed changes of our own, we have, we believe, rigorously confined ourselves not merely to such suggestions as can be readily reconciled with the reading of at least one good manuscript, but to such as provide in each case a tenable explanation of the origin of all the variants in all the MSS that we have consulted. In several difficult places we have become persuaded that corruption has arisen through slight and accountable dislocations of order, and in a still larger number from the incorporation of marginal or interlinear glosses not differing in character from those which still appear in great numbers in all the MSS of the 9th to the 12th centuries, but which have not forced their way into the text. A typical example will be found in our note on V. 2. 8.

We have been at work upon the text of Livy since 1901, and the long delay has been due to the two necessities which we realized more and more fully as our study continued. The first was that of verifying for ourselves the observations of previous collators; for all the critical apparatus to this decade in existence is honeycombed with misstatements based ultimately either upon the silence of imperfect collations made by some other person than the particular editor who quotes them, or upon actual errors of collation, especially in the two codices M[1] and P, which have been regarded as the pillars of the text.

The second desideratum was to bring to bear upon the text throughout the evidence of MSS hitherto unknown or only partially examined; the codices Oxoniensis[2] (early 11th century), and Agenensis[3] (13th century) in the first category; and in the second the Harleianus[4] (10th century), Floriacensis (9th century), Einsiedlensis (an important fragment of the 10th or 11th

[1] On the different hands in this MS, and the importance of the distinction, see Conway, *Camb. Philol. Soc. Proceedings*, November, 1902.

[2] On this MS, see Walters, *Class. Quart.*, July, 1908, p. 210.

[3] On this MS, see Walters, *Class. Review* November, 1904, p. 392.

[4] On this MS, see Walters, *Camb. Philol. Soc. Proceedings*, November, 1902.

century), and finally, we must add, the Leidensis[1] (of the 11th or 12th). These we cite regularly in what follows. In Books VI.-X. we shall quote regularly also the readings of the Thuaneus and Dominicanus (both 10th century).

We offer our hearty thanks to Professor Skutsch of Breslau, who with his accustomed generosity has found time to read this article in proof, and to make valuable corrections and additions. The latter are marked by his initials (F. S.).

We are not less grateful to the Editor of the *Classical Quarterly* for the very careful comments he made upon our article in manuscript, which have removed more than one error and have everywhere given us occasion for strengthening the evidence we had to offer.

BOOK 1

I. 7. 13.

Inde institutum mansit, donec Pinarium genus fuit, ne *extis† sollemnium* uescerentur.

This is the vulgate and the reading of M, while P F U E have *extis solemnibus* and O H D R L have *extis eo sollemnium*. From M's reading we should naturally infer that the Pinarii were excluded from all annual sacrifices; this would seem a disproportionate penalty for having once come late. P's reading is obviously an alteration made (probably in the 8th or 9th century) to get grammatical agreement with *extis*. O's reading suggests what the sense requires *extis eorum* sollemnium; *eo* is better accounted for as the remains of *eorum* than by other means. For *sollemnia* as a noun cf. v. 1. 4.

I. 8. 5.

Deinde ne uana urbis magnitudo esset *adiciendae* multitudinis causa . . . asylum aperit.

We restore *adiciendae* from all the MSS, which makes as good, if not better, sense than *alliciendae* which Ascensius first put into the text, and in which recent editors of the decade, except M. Müller (1902), have with Madvig followed him. The additional evidence that we have obtained from MSS not hitherto consulted and our verification of the rest fully justify the restoration of *adiciendae* by Seeley, who is followed by the editors of the Thesaurus, from whose parallel citations of this numerical use may be mentioned especially 1. 36. 7; 10. 8. 3; 38. 1. 6, and Verg. *Aen.* 10. 182.

I. 14. 9.

Ita multiplici terrore perculsi Fidenates, prius paene quam Romulus *quique †cum eo uisi erant†* circumagerent frenis equos, terga uertunt. (Romulus with the cavalry had gone off in pretended flight and drawn the Fidenates into an ambush.)

[1] On this MS, see J. F. Dobson, *Class. Quart.*, 1910, p. 38.

There is an extraordinary but largely uniform muddle in the MSS: O E H U give the sentence as above: P has *quique cum eo quisierant:* F has *quiq. cum eo equis ierant:* M, as usual, combines the variants, *quiq. cum eo quiq. cum equis abierant usi erant*, and so L (but with *uisi* for M's *usi*). The absence of meaning in the vulgate warrants us in another attempt to heal the passage. We offer *quique auehi cum eo uisi erant.* After *quique*, *auehi* cut down to *auei* might easily have dropped out, especially if the scribe's attention was taken up with some muddle after *cum;* a sloping *q* with a short tail is often like an *a;* e.g. in the margin of A at iv. 3. 7 appears *auq:* which is really *quq:* (for *quoque*)[1]; and for a similar reason *ut* and *qui* are often confused. *Auehi* is, of course, the regular word for 'riding rapidly away' (*e.g.* 9. 4. 1; 9. 27. 11; 27. 18. 3 *citato equo ex proelio auectus*).

I. 24. 8.

Si prior defexit publico consilio dolo malo, tum †*ille dies Iuppiter*† populum R. sic ferito, etc.

So the MSS, but M[2] has changed *ille* to *illo* and erased *dies iup.*

Crévier inserted *tu* after *tum;* Weissenborn read *illo die Diespiter.* We gladly accept Prof. Skutsch's restoration of *tum ille Diespiter p. R. sic ferito.*

['*Ille* must certainly not be disturbed; *ille Iuppiter* is the standing combination, e.g. Plaut. *Amph.* 461, *Curc.* 27, *Most.* 398, Pseud. 923; Cic. *Cat. III* §§ 22 and 29; Verg. *Aen.* 779 (*ille . . .* superi regnator Olympi). Livy has either used *ille Diespiter* as a Vocative (which seems to me far from impossible); or *ferito* is 3rd pers. I cannot believe that the regular phrase *ille Iuppiter* should have got into the text by a mere accident.'—F. S.]

I. 25. 10.

qui *nec*† procul aberat.

We feel that *nec procul* is improbable and gladly accept Professor Postgate's[2] *nec ipse procul: ipe* is a constant cause of trouble, and even the *pse* (of *ipse* in full) might have got lost before *pro* with a tall *r*, which[3] is very like *f* (i.e. the old s).

I. 27. 1.

(After the story of the Horatii and Curiatii.) Nec diu pax Albana mansit: inuidia uolgi quod tribus militibus fortuna publica commissa *fuerit* uanum ingenium dictatoris corrupit.

So the MSS; but Madvig (with R^2 and according to Zingerle the codex Magliabecchianus—whatever that may be) has *fuerat.* The subj. *fuerit* needs no defence, and for the tense cf. *quod-dederit* in VII. 4. 4. and Conway's ed. of Book II., Appendix II.

[1] So at 29. 33. 6 in Cod. Venet. 364 *aut* is written in such a way that it might easily be read as *que.* C. F. W.

[2] As we do his *pura tollito* in I. 24. 5.

[3] So I have misread *r* for *s* in the name Gyslarx in my article *C.Q.*, Ap., 1910, p. 92.—C. F. W.

I. 32. 12.

ut fetialis hastam ferratam aut *sanguineam praeustam* ad fines eorum ferret.

We accept Madvig's change of order to *praeustam sanguineam*, but there is no need for more violent changes. Compare, with Frigell, I. 14. 7 *densa obsita uirgulta*, i.e. 'close-grown bush.' So this is 'tip-burnt-bloody': it is of course parallel to the fiery cross of the Highlands. ['The blood is equally necessary whether the spear is iron-pointed or only hardened in the fire. See Dio Cass. 71. 33; Amm. Marc. 19. 2. 6.'—F. S.]

I. 37. 1.

uentoque iuuante accensa ligna et pleraque †*in ratibus impacta sublicis*† cum haererent pontem incendunt.

So the MSS and editors. Read with Gronow *et pleraque ratibus impacta sublicisque;* for it was a pontoon-bridge of the Sabines that the Romans attacked by throwing in a quantity of blazing faggots, which floated down until they were caught by the boats and the piles to which the boats were moored. The Q (=*que*) might easily be lost before the C of *cum*. For the Interwoven order see Conway, *Class. Rev.*, 1900, p. 357 or Livy II. (Pitt Press), p. 151.

I. 41. 7.

Anci liberi iam tum cum† *comprensis sceleris ministris ut*† *uiuere* regem et tantas esse opes Serui nuntiatum est Suessam Pometiam exsulatum ierant.

MSS. have both *cum* and *ut*. Zingerle seems right in returning to Drakenborch's reading, i.e. in excising *cum* and retaining *ut*, though there is reluctance in some quarters to accept this. Madvig following Klicks retained *cum* and excised *ut*. But there was not only a *tum* but a *com* also loudly calling for a *cum* to join the gay throng of monosyllables and spondees; whereas there was only the *ui* of *uiuere* to invite an *ut* to enter. As for the syntax we should certainly expect *nuntiatum esset* with *cum*, and the indicative rather gives the *cum* away.

I. 43. 11.

(The Servian constitution) equites enim uocabantur primi, octoginta inde primae classis centuriae †*primum peditum uocabantur;* ibi si uariaret, quod raro incidebat, *ut* secundae classis *uocarentur*† *nec* fere unquam infra ita descen*derent*† *ut* ad infimos peruenirent.

To deal with this satisfactorily seems almost an Augean task. Zingerle has rightly excluded or 'secluded' *primum*, and so coherence is brought into the first part. Novák inserted *institutum* after *incidebat*, which makes good sense but is not palaeographically convincing. We suggest the ejection of *ut* and *uocarentur;* thus the passage will run:

'inde primae classis centuriae *peditum* uocabantur; ibi si uariaret—quod raro incidebat—*secundae classis* (sc. centuriae uocabantur) nec fere unquam infra ita descen*derunt* (so already Sigonius) *ut* etc.';

and we suppose that *uocabantur* or even *uocarentur* was scrawled in to give a verb to the clause, and *ut* added by some one who failed to see that *quod raro incidebat* was a parenthesis—and how should the poor creature without even the elements of punctuation before him? Or else, perhaps more simply, *ut* and *uocarentur* were added together by this same person, or by one like him who did not approve of *incidebat* without an *ut*-clause to follow it.

I. 46. 9.

Arruns Tarquinius et Tullia minor prope continuatis funeribus cum domos uacuas nouo matrimonio fecissent, iunguntur nuptiis.

On this Madvig remarks 'Liuius scribere debuit L. Tarquinius.' 'Immo uero,' we would add, 'Liuius suspendi debuisset arbori infelici,' had he really made such a blunder. Hertz proposed to insert between *Tullia* and *minor* the words *maior haud multo post morbo eodem obeunt*; *L. Tarquinius et Tullia* from Dionysius. If so large an insertion were here necessary, we should have no quarrel with the words proposed except that they mar the suggestiveness of the phrase *prope continuatis funeribus*. But it is simpler to bracket the words *Arruns Tarquinius et Tullia minor* and so show them at their true worth; they are merely a gloss and not necessarily a bad one, for they may refer to the murdered pair. If a subject is felt to be necessary for *iunguntur*, we might insert *uidui*, which is palaeographically quite possible between the *-nt* and *ui-*.

If the use of the knife is felt by any to be too violent, let them make Arruns and Tullia the subject of *fecissent* only (i.e. 'when by dying, etc.'); but let them also compare Sallust *Cat.* 15. 2. 'necato filio uacuam domum scelestis nuptiis fecisse'; if then the use of the knife still displeases, let them throw their Livy away.

I. 59. 5.

(After Lucretia's death.) Inde †*pari praesidio relicto Collatiae ad portas*† custodibusque datis ne quis eum motum regibus nuntiaret, ceteri armati duce Bruto Romam profecti.

The MSS differ considerably as to the second word, here given as *pari*; the evidence is as follows: *patri paris* F, *pari* M D R L, *pars* H O, *paris* P *patres* dett. duo (all reading *relicto*). Gronow proposed *pars . . . relicta*, Heerwagen *parte . . . relicta*. As a matter of fact *pari* (or whatever it is) is not needed, and a single man with an untroubled conscience might quietly drop it and only a few inquisitive persons might find him out, but the conscience of a partnership is more sensitive! What is to be done with it? This is an unsolved problem of some 1,000 years' standing; *praesidio* and *relicto* seem above suspicion, and though some rude hands have assailed one or the other, they

stand serene in all modern editions. Now what are the facts?—Collatia is sealed up lest the news spread; but would this be done at the cost of half the forces? Then (1) Who are the *ceteri?* In other words, who go to Rome and who stop at Collatia? Nature and § 12 seem to answer that Lucretius would stop behind. (2) How does the otherwise needless *praesidium* differ from *custodes* who are *dati?* (3) And this last question naturally suggests to H. J. Müller, why *ad portas?* These questions, which do not seem to us satisfactorily answered by previous conjectures, we have tried to solve by reading: *Inde patre* (i.e. Lucretio) *praeside*[1] *relicto Collatiae* [ad portas] *custodibusque datis, etc.;* for we regard *ad portas* as a gloss to *custodibus* (some pedant more suo supposing that friends of the Tarquins wishing to convey the news to them would choose the front-door for their exit).

BOOK II

II. 6. 2.

(The banished Tarquin) orare maxime Veientes Tarquiniensesque *ne† se ortum*, eiusdem sanguinis, extorrem . . . perire sinerent.

So the MSS except that M reads *ni se* and one later MS has *se exortum.*

Madvig offered *ne se ab se ortum*, Zingerle *ne se ex ipsis ortum*, M. Müller *se ortum indidem* which might be right if we excised *eiusdem sanguinis* as a gloss upon it. We write, however, *ne ex se ortum;* this gives the sense which Madvig desired, but without involving a self-contradictory and quite unparalleled use of *se* and it is palaeographically easy: *sinerent* is really better without an explicitly identified object in such a place: 'do not suffer one who was born in your own city to be ill-treated' is more idiomatic than 'do not suffer *me* for I was etc.'

II. 9. 4.

Porsenna cum regem esse *Romae, tum* Etruscae gentis regem amplum Tuscis ratus, Romam infesto exercitu uenit.

So M P F U O H, but D L have *romae fateretur tum* showing that somebody in the 10th century felt a difficulty. We adopt the conjecture made in Professor Conway's edition of this book (Cambridge, 1901) and insert *tutum* before *tum:* 'thinking that for the Tuscans it was not merely the safest arrangement for Rome to be ruled by a king, but a distinction too for that king to be an Etruscan by birth.'

II. 10. 4.

(Horatius Cocles loquitur.) si transitum †*pontem* a tergo reliquissent, iam plus hostium in Palatio Capitolioque quam in Ianiculo fore.

Professor Postgate has suggested *ponte* and Zingerle has *per pontem*, but it would seem better to cut out *pontem* as a gloss on *transitum.* There are many

[1] Or *ad praesidium* (cf. III. 5. 3). The loss of *ad* and its replacement might account for the introduction of *ad portas.*

such in the early books: e.g. c. 12. 2 *cum sub regibus esset* on *seruientem* (cf. Conway's ed. of Bk. II. ad loc.).

II. 32. 10.

(Agrippa's fable.) conspirasse inde ne manus ad os cibum ferrent nec os acciperet datum nec dentes †*quae*† conficerent.

This *quae* (or *que* or *q.*) appears in MHRDL, but not in PFU nor in the editions; no satisfactory account of its presence has been given. O's reading however is *nec dentes acciperent.* (*que* (?) erased) *conficerent.*, which suggests as the true reading *nec dentes quae os acciperet conficerent* (or *conficerent quae os acciperet*). Thus due consecution and balance is restored to the sentence, *datum* picks up the idea of *ferrent*, and *quae os acciperet* the idea of the first *acciperet;* and the *quae* is explained. It may be objected that if the lips (*os*) refused the food, the teeth would have no chance to accept or refuse; but this criticism would equally affect the special mention of the teeth, which however is quite in keeping with an old-world fable.

II. 34. 3.

dimissis passim ad frumentum coemendum non in Etruria modo . . . sed quaesitum in Siciliam†.

So MPUHRL; Madvig excluded *quaesitum*, but Aldus wrote *in Sicilia* and thereby made a thoroughly Livian sentence: F and O now confirm his reading.

II. 36. 6.

(The gods put pressure on Titus Latinius, finally afflicting him personally with a disease.) Tunc enimuero deorum† ira admonuit.

So the MSS except D R L, which omit *ira* and M^3 which has *iura;* Alschefski could not read M, but Conway reports *cura*. If *cura* could stand for *haec propior cura*, we should get excellent sense by taking *deorum* with *admonuit* as in V. 51. 8 'aduersae deinde res admonuerunt *religionum.*' Standing alone *cura* is undoubtedly harsh, and being so close to *deorum* would require separation by some such qualification as *ea*, the loss of which is indeed quite possible.

II. 38. 2.

(Attius Tullius to the Volscians whose presence at the Roman games had been forbidden.) Ibi in contionis modum orationem *exorsus*† *ueteres* populi Romani iniurias cladesque gentis Volscorum, ut omnia, inquit, obliuiscamini alia, hodiernam hanc contumeliam quo tandem animo fertis qua per nostram ignominiam ludos commisere?

There is no variation in the MSS, but F and O have a stop before *ueteres*, H has a semicolon and space before *ueteres*. Madvig put in *aduersus*, and Duker *in* after *exorsus;* Drakenborch inserted *ut* in the same place and started the speech with *ut ueteres* (repeating the *ut* before *omnia*). M. Müller (keeping *exorsus ueteres*) wrote *Volscorum commemorauit. Tum ut omnia, etc.*,

indulging his favourite pastime of free composition for which in the third decade the lapses of Puteanus give some warrant, but for which there is far less excuse in the MSS of the first decade. One thing seems certain: the speech must begin at *ut omnia* as the position of *inquit* shows. We also feel that the speech ought to begin quickly after *exorsus* unless we sanction the additions of M. Müller. But we suggest another expedient. Without pressing the evidence given above of F O H at all unduly, we may suppose that the clause *ueteres. . . . Volscorum* has got out of order owing to the scribe's eye glancing from *ut* to *uet-* so that the clause *ut omnia . . . alia* was omitted; the error being noticed the words were written in the margin and wrongly placed by the next scribe. The restored order would then be:

> exorsus 'ut omnia inquit 'obliuiscamini alia, ueteres p. R. iniurias cladesque gentis Volscorum, hodiernam hanc etc.' (The clause seems on the whole too good for a gloss on *omnia alia*, and is better left thus in apposition.)[1]

II. 39. 2 and 3.

As many people have a pious horror of restoration by transposition and we must here offer another, we would invite their attention to a handful of the very numerous cases of transposition, made by careful scribes about which no doubt is possible since the other MSS give the correct order: e.g. *prius impetus* (X. 36. 2) is omitted at the proper place by P U and put between points after *diuersique;* in IX. 34. 16 the second *geram* is put by P F after *quem* in the next line (hence in U we get *qui gerat*), but O omits it; in VIII. 31. 6 and 7 three clauses have owing to omission got out of order in M P F U with the result that P F U omit one section entirely. The same process within smaller compass is seen in such blunders as M's *li capide tuo* for *lituo capide* at X. 7. 10, and *te prope mere* for *prope temere* at X. 43. 12. Here (II. 39) after *Volscos* O has repeated *ducibus ualidiorem . . . esse*, not because he was careless but because there was some confusion in the text before him. There are however stronger reasons for suspicion; the whole passage dealing with the march of Coriolanus runs thus in the MSS: 'Circeios profectus primum colonos inde Romanos expulit liberamque eam urbem Volscis tradidit; †inde in Latinam uiam transuersis limitibus transgressus† Satricum Longulum etc. ademit; inde Lauinium recepit; tunc deinceps Corbionem Veteliam Trebium Labicos Pedum cepit.' Did the wine-god or his devotees ever make a more erratic circumambulation? The legends of Coriolanus and the Volscians may indeed be mixed, but what are we to say of the geography? Patavinity will not account for such extraordinary ignorance of the Latin Way, nor dare we any longer allow the great historian to be accused of such culpable folly: 'Leaving Chester he crossed to the Great Northern (London to York) road by by-ways and took Shrewsbury, Birmingham, and Warwick; thence he

[1] See the P.S. to our note on IV. 1. 2, for further examples.

marched and took Northampton, and then proceeded to take the towns Hertford and St. Albans (on the Great Northern Road) close to London.' Can we imagine Macaulay, a Scot, writing thus of King Charles' movements? Any general who had taken Circeii would have kept on the west of the Appian Road until he had dealt with the Satricum group, and then turned due eastwards to reach Lavinium; and from there he would cross by way of Mt. Albanus or Mt. Algidus to the Latin road (still further N.E.) and take the Labican group. So *inde in Latinam uiam . . . transgressus* must be transferred by hook or crook to follow *Lauinium recepit*, as Niebuhr long ago said (in other words) to unheeding ears. The scribe slipped from *recepit* to *cepit;* so that the two clauses which (as we suggest) originally followed *recepit*, namely *inde . . . transgressus* and *tunc deinceps . . . cepit* fell into the margin or on to the foot of one page and the top of another, and in either case became separated in the process of restoration.

(O's trouble at *Volscis*, described above, is a minor upheaval of the soil near the centre of the greater seismic disturbance.)

In VIII. 24. 4. there is another geographical difficulty (on which later) due to these ever-agonizing proper names.

II. 40. 8.

(Veturia to Coriolanus.) Sed ego nihil iam pati nec tibi turpius *quam*† *mihi* miserius possum nec *ut sum* (M, but *sim* PFUOHRDL) miserrima, diu futura sum.

Bekker wrote *turpius nec mihi* (ignoring *quam*); M. Müller (*turpius usquam nec mihi* (and this was adopted in Conway's edition of this book). But this is not quite satisfactory. It seems better to transpose; (we seem to have a nest of enforced transpositions hereabouts), and write:

'Sed ego mihi miserius nihil iam pati nec tibi turpius <us> quam possum.'

mihi miserius was slipped out because the scribe passed from *mihi* to *nihil*, and the words were wrongly restored. Thus *mihi* finds its natural egoistic place, and we have another instance of 'interweaving' (*nihil iam* being separated from *usquam possum* to secure a balance of sound); and with M. Müller's help we can account for the *quam* otherwise than by saying it was an insertion due to the comparative (though this is of course always possible), but we need not insert another *nec*. Professor Postgate considers *usquam* superfluous, but it seems to us to give balance to the sentence.

II. 41. 9.

Adeo propter suspicionem insitam regni, uelut abundarent omnia, munera eius †*in animis hominum*† respuebantur.

We follow Vielhaber (who wished to expunge *insitam* and *in animis hominum*) so far as to remove the latter; but we keep *insitam* which would attract a scribbler's gloss, and such we deem *in animis hominum;* which, like other marginal matter that we have discussed above, has been inserted after all

in the wrong place. [Would it not suffice to transpose these words so as to precede *insitam*?—F. S.]

II. 43. 5.

Ad duo simul bella exercitus scribitur: ducendus† *Fabio in Veientes in Aequos Furio*† datur. Et in Aequis quidem nihil dignum memoria gestum est; Fabio aliquanto plus negotii cum ciuibus quam cum hostibus fuit.

Then follows the account of the betrayal 'consensu exercitus' (which is alluded to in c. 44. 11; cf. too c. 46. 1) to the vanquished Aequi. When Madvig says that in cc. 44. 11 and 46. 1 Livy ought to have written *Veientibus* for *Aequis*, cogit indignatio nostra transpositionem, which after much toil we here submit to our candid critics; and we are ready to face the most solemn reproofs rather than allow Livy to be so gravely misrepresented. Read thus: 'ducendus Fabio[1] in Aequos, Furio datur in Veientes. <In Veientes>[2] nihil dignum memoria gestum [est]; et in Aequis quidem Fabio aliquantum plus negotii cum ciuibus quam cum hostibus fuit.'

To account for the error in the MSS we must suppose (1) that the second *in Veientes* was dropped; (2) that by the eye glancing from *datur* to *gestum* the next (or even the same) scribe omitted *in Veientes—gestum* (an alternative supposition is that a scribe glancing from the first *in Veientes* to *in Aequis* omitted all the words from *in Veientes* to *gestum est et*); and (3) that the omitted words were put into the margin to shift for themselves. *In Veientes* became attached to *Fabio* either because of the Fabian connexion with Veii, or because the words were marginally in contact with *Fabio; nihil —gestum* construed all right in the next clause; and the addition of *est* made all four-square—except the sense—for Livy is thus made to say that 'nothing worth recording was done *in Aequis*,' and to immediately record the events and afterwards refer to them twice, just as if he were some ordinary politician 'refusing to say' mean things of his opponent. If our change is thought violent, we must at least be acquitted of offering Livy himself 'being so majestical' 'the show of violence' from which critics of the older generation did not shrink.[3]

R. S. Conway.
W. C. F. Walters.

Manchester, London. *June*, 1910.

[1] From c. 43. 11 the natural inference is that Fabius was in command against the Aequi.

[2] If it is asked why not *in Veientibus* to correspond to *in Aequis*, the answer surely is that Veii is a town, Aequi a large territory.

[3] We do not deny that Livy has made mistakes, but we deny absolutely that he has made gross blunders of the character that we here deal with.

(To be continued.)

THE VATICAN CODEX OF LIVY'S THIRD DECADE AND ITS SIGNATURES.

My apology for reverting to this subject is a recent article by Mr. W. C. F. Walters in the April number of the *Classical Quarterly* for 1910 on the signatures in the Vatican Codex (Vat. Reg. 762). Mr. Walters does not seem to have been aware that this manuscript, though not of direct value in the constitution of the text of Livy, is one whose interest from a palaeographical point of view has long been recognized. A number of articles have been written concerning it, most of which deal with the signatures, the subject of Mr. Walters' paper, more fully and more accurately than he has done. Beyond giving the signatures, two of them incorrectly, Walters does nothing more than to conclude that there were eight scribes, who copied 42 quaternions. But a great deal more than this is known about the scribes and the manuscript. In fact, thanks to the ingenious combinations of Chatelain and Traube in piecing together the hints suggested by the signatures, more is known about this particular manuscript and the circumstances under which it was made than is the case with any other manuscript of a classical author of so early a date. It may therefore be worth while to summarize the known data concerning the manuscript, with a brief account of how they were worked out, referring the reader for the details to the articles mentioned in the footnotes.

That the manuscript is a copy of P (National Library, Paris, 5730) has long been recognized. The signatures of the scribes appended to the various quaternions were noted by Wölfflin.[1] But to Chatelain belongs the credit of discovering, by means of the signatures, that, when the manuscript was copied, the old uncial codex was taken apart, and equal portions of nine quaternions each were assigned to seven[2] scribes. Chatelain[3] noticed that the end of the quota copied by Gyslarus, whose signature Gysla*x* appears on fol. 6 vo. coincided, even to a syllable, with the end of quaternion IX of P; that of Aldo, with the end of quaternion XVIII; that of Fredeḡ, with the end of quaternion XXXVI; that of Nauto and Theogrimn together, with the end of quaternion XXXVI; that of Theodegrī, with the end of quaternion XLV; that of Ansoaldus, with the end of quaternion LIV; and that the writing on the

[1] *Philologus*, XXXIII, 1874, pp. 186-189.

[2] The scribe Theogrimn who finished Nauto's portion makes an eighth, if he is not the same person as Theodegrī. See below.

[3] *Revue de Philologie*, vol. xiv., 1890.

last folio copied by each scribe, with the exception of Nauto and Landemarus, was spread out or condensed so as to correspond with the end of the quaternions in P, which were multiples of nine. Making use of the data furnished by Chatelain, Traube[1] pointed out that the names of these scribes are to be found in the *Libri Confraternitatum Sancti Galli*[2] in the list of the monks of Tours, and that they all occur in a definite place upon the list—namely, in the second of the columns devoted to the monks of St. Martin's. From this he inferred that, in the monastery of St. Martin, there was a definite class of monks who performed the duty of scribes, and were regularly engaged as such in the scriptorium of the monastery. The names corresponding to the signatures are as follows:

Signatures in Vat. Reg. 762.	Names on col. 14, *Lib. Confr. S. Galli.*
Gyslax (= Gyslarus)	Gislarius (no. 3)
Aldo	Aldo (no. 10)
Fredeg̃[3]	Fredegaudus (no. 37)
Nauto	Nauto (no. 36)
Theodegrī	Teutcrimus (no. 26)
Ansoaldus	Ansoaldus (no. 4)
Landemarus	Landemarus (no. 24)

There is no separate name in the list of the monks of Tours to correspond to the signature Theogrin̄, but it is probable that Theodegrī and Theogrin̄ were one and the same person, who used a different spelling in signing his name to the quota of Nauto which he finished. The abbot at the head of the list of the monks of St. Martin's in the *Lib. Confraternitatum* is Fridegisus, the successor of Alcuin, who held the abbacy from 804 to 834. Traube is consequently justified in placing the date of the manuscript between those years. The fact that all these scribes were monks of Tours makes it practically certain that the work of transcription was done at Tours, and that the Puteanus, which at that time belonged to the monastery at Corbie, was borrowed for the purpose. This supposition would account for the haste shown in putting so many scribes to work upon making the copy, which must have amounted to the concentration of the energies of the entire scriptorium upon this one task. The manuscript is therefore a good example of the developed calligraphy of Tours, produced within thirty years of the death of Alcuin. This monastery was, under his abbacy (from 796 to 804, the year

[1] *Sitzungsberichte der Münchener Akademie*, Heft 3, p. 425.

[2] Ed. Piper, *Mon. Germ. Hist.*

[3] Chatelain (*Rev. de Philologie*, vol. xiv.), before the publication of Traube's article, supposed that Fredeg̃ stood for Fredegus or Fredegarius. Later, in his *Paléographie des Classiques Latins*, 9e *livraison*, 1895, he writes Fredegisus, and, by implication at least, identifies the scribe with Fredegisus, the abbot of the monastery and the successor of Alcuin, whose name is first in the list of the monks of Tours in the *Lib. Confr.* This identification, however, is improbable. I have carefully compared the work of this scribe with that of the others (see *Certain Sources of Corruption in Latin MSS.*, Macm., 1904, p. 12). It contains even more careless blunders than the average; and this part of the copy can hardly be the work of a man who had a reputation for learning. I agree, therefore, with Traube's identification, Fredegaudus.

of his death), the centre of the reform in writing which spread over almost the whole of Western Europe, and of the new activity in the production of manuscripts to which we owe such a very large number of the texts of the Latin authors. The manuscript is thus typical of the movement, and, as its uncial original is extant, it is possible to test the fitness of the ninth century monks for the task of copying the older manuscripts of the fifth and sixth centuries, and to study by concrete example the errors to which they were prone.[1]

Besides its palaeographical interest, the manuscript has an additional significance because of the fact that, with the exception of C (Parisinus Colbertinus 5731), all the MSS. of the decade which belong to the Puteanus group trace their descent from P through this ninth century copy, as I have pointed out in 'Studies in the MSS. of the Third Decade of Livy,' *Classical Philology*, vol. iv., pp. 405-419. The portions of M (Mediceus Laurentianus LXIII. 20) and the other MSS., except C, which may be used for the first part of the decade, now missing in P, are derived from P through the copy made by Gyslarus, of which 6 folios still remain; and the portions of B (Bambergensis M. IV), λ (Laurentianus LXII. 21), Vat. 1487, and the other MSS. representing the Puteanus tradition for the portion of book XXX which is missing in P, are derived from P through the copy made by Landemarus, of which there remain something over three full quaternions. A comparison of the extant portions of the work of these two scribes with the text of P, and a study of the errors to which they were individually prone, would not be without value in considering those portions for which it is necessary to use the derived manuscripts.

The consensus of these MSS. with C establishes the Puteanus tradition. A word must be said about the weight to be given to their consensus against C, or, in other words, the relative merits of the Vatican Codex and C. Walters asserts the superiority of C, though he admits that his perusal of the Roman codex was hasty. In this I think he is wrong. The only readings of C to which I have access are those given in the *Analecta Liviana* of Mommsen and Studemund, in which, it must be admitted, there are errors and omissions. But, making allowance for this, it is possible to test in a general way the relative fidelity of C and Vat. Reg. 762 (to be called hereafter R) to the readings of P. I give all the readings from the passages cited in the *Analecta* in which the two MSS. show divergence, except where corrections in P are responsible for the variation, and the one MS. has the original reading and the other the correction.[2] I have marked with an asterisk the readings of C which have to be assumed upon Mommsen's silence or his *plerique*. The

[1] I have given a classified list of the errors of these eight scribes in *Certain Sources of Corruption in Latin MSS.* with the purpose of illustrating the errors which crept into the texts of the Latin authors in this century in the process of copying majuscule, and particularly uncial, manuscripts.

[2] This is particularly the case in connection with the corrections by erasure in P. These were made after R was copied, but earlier than, or contemporaneously with, the copying of C.

readings of R are from a collation made by myself, and checked with a collation made for me later by Dr. E. A. Loeuw. Those of P are from the critical apparatus of August Luchs, with a few corrections made by myself after consulting that manuscript. The readings marked thus: reliquerant] are the accepted readings of the edd.:

XXVII, 33, 6 reliquerant] C*¹, relinquerant P R C².
11 immortalis] P R¹, immortales C* R².
miseritos] P R, misertos C*.
34, 5 opsoleta] P C*, opsoleta *in* obsolita *mut.* R¹.
7 ibat] C*, ibant P R.
marci] marcia P R, martia C¹.
9 q.] P C*, que R, *postea ras.* q. *effectum.*
12 ciuitatis] P R, ciuitates C¹.
miseritos] P R, misertos C*.

XXVIII, 13, 10 aliquot insequentes] aliquotiensequentis P, aliquotiens sequentis C, aliquotiensequente R¹, aliquotiens sequentes R².
39, 17 restitutum] P C R², destitutum R¹.
18, 18 quaeque] C*, quaequae P R.
40, 4 strenui sit] P C*, strenuis id R.
9 consulatibus] C*, consularibus P R.
partae] P C*, parte R.
10 essem] C*, esse P R.
12 aemulationes] C*, aemulatione P R.
41, 1 tuam] C¹, uam P R C². (The readings of C are probably wrongly given in the *Analecta*.)
2 faceret] feceres P R, faceres C.
3 hannibal] P C, habal R.
cladium] C, gladium P R.
expuleris] P R, expelleris C¹.
7 nondum] P R, non est C.
11 diuersos] R², diuersus P R¹, sunt diuersius C¹, sunt diuersi usque C².
12 classes] P C, clases R.

XXIX, 22, 8 fauorem] fatio rem P¹, facilio rem P² C, facillionis R. (By a parablepsy the eye of the scribe passed unconsciously from the *o* of *fatio rem* to that of *Scipionis* a few words later, hence *facillionis*. This accidental error of Landemarus is the worst corruption in R, and is the chief earmark of its descendants. See 'The Relationships of the MSS. in the Puteanus Group,' *Class. Phil.*, vol. iv.)

Leaving out of consideration 28, 13, 10 *aliquotiensequentis*, where neither MS. has exactly the reading of P, and 28, 41, 1 *uam*, where the reading of C is probably wrongly given in the *Analecta*, the figures for the consensus of P R as against the consensus of P C are (1) 16 to 8, including the passages in which the reading of C is assumed upon Mommsen's silence or his *plerique;* (2) excluding these passages, the figures are 6 to 3. The ratio according to either method of reckoning is 2 to 1 in favour of R. We are here discussing only the question which manuscript the better represents the Puteanus tradition. This is given the more faithfully, mistakes and all, in R. C, on the other hand, corresponds more frequently with the accepted readings, where there are minor mistakes in P. But when one balances the readings *sunt diversius* and *non est* of C against the error *facillionis* in R, it is clear that in the latter case we are dealing with an unconscious slip, while in the former we have conscious emendations which are not only beside the mark, but have destroyed the clues to the original reading.

The passages in R covered by the *Analecta* were copied by Theodegrī and Ansoaldus. One citation falls in the portion copied by Landemarus. These three scribes are rather below than above the others in accuracy. The above test is therefore fairly representative, and one may safely conclude that R reproduces the Puteanus tradition more faithfully than C. Since, however, the only portions of the descendants of R which are of service in the study of the text are derived from the copy made by the Gyslarus and Landemarus, a better test would be to compare the readings of C, were they available, with the extant work of these two scribes.

But to return to Walters' report of the signatures. I have noted the following errors: The signature attached to fol. 6 vo. is not Girlarx, as Walters gives it, but Gyslarx = Gyslarus (it appears as Gislarius in the *Libri Confraternitatum S. Galli*); the signature appended to quaternions XXXI-XXXV is not Luxidemaris, but Landemarus; the word written at the foot of fol. 120 ro. is not *traliu*, but *Titi Liuii;* the signature of Nauto is wrongly given for fol. 103 vo. instead of 108 vo.; he has omitted the signature of Aldo (partly cut in trimming the folio) on 36 vo., and that of the same scribe (now erased) on 48 vo.; he has also omitted the signature of Theogn̄ (erased) on 135 vo., and that of the same scribe (also erased) on 141 vo.; he has failed to note that, although the name of Theogrīn̄ is signed to fol. 119 vo., the work of Nauto continues to 120 ro. near the bottom of the page, ending with *hasdrubale* XXV. 39, 4; the word erased at the foot of 157 vo. is *bauonē*, likewise that on 173 vo. is also *bauone* (*ne* now erased).

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FARNELL'S *CULTS OF THE GREEK STATES.*

The Cults of the Greek States. By L. R. Farnell, D.Litt. Vol. V. Pp. xii+496, with 19 collotypes and 41 other illustrations. Price 18s. 6d. net. Clarendon Press, Oxford. 1909.

THE concluding volume of Dr. Farnell's *Cults of the Greek States* maintains the high level of accuracy and achievement which marked the former volumes. Yet the work which the editor undertook is still incomplete; five volumes have not sufficed to permit of the inclusion of an account of the cults of the dead and the worship of heroes, and, though Dr. Farnell promises to make good the omission elsewhere, it is unfortunate that it has not been possible to extend the work to six volumes, for these cults stand in the most vital relation to the religious life of the Greek States. But we must be grateful to the Delegates of the Press for having given us so much, and to Dr. Farnell for the untiring industry which has collected practically exhaustively the material bearing on his subject, and for the sane and discriminating judgment which gives us an account of Greek religion in which the problems presented by it are illumined by all the light derivable from anthropology and comparative religion, but in which the interpretation of the facts is not distorted by the adoption of far-fetched theories of matriarchy or totemism.

Of the gods dealt with in the present volume, Hermes presents some clearly aboriginal features. The phallic emblem is decidedly one of these, and Dr. Farnell (p. 8) underestimates the evidence in favour of attributing the phallus to a non-Hellenic stratum of religion when he cites it as found among the Vedic Indians. In point of fact phallus worshippers are twice mentioned in the *Rigveda*, but in both cases with hostility, and it is practically certain that the worshippers were aborigines, as in later days also the most prominent centres of phallic worship were found in the Dravidian south among the Śivaites.[1] Then, too, Hermes is in Greek religion the patron of thieves, and in the *Yajurveda* Rudra-Śiva is likewise the lord and protector of every kind of robber—in both cases very possibly a reflex of the special relation of the god of the earlier race to the conquered people.[2] It is not of course necessary to assume that Hermes was not a Hellenic deity; Rudra is a Vedic

[1] Lassen, *Indische Alterthumskunde*, 1^2, 934; Zimmer, *Altindisches Leben*, p. 116.

[2] Zimmer, *op. cit.*, p. 179; Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, p. 76.

deity, but later he seems clearly to have assumed traits from an aboriginal god, and the same fate may have befallen Hermes.

Dionysos, on the contrary, is no doubt a Thraco-Phrygian deity which has been introduced from the north into Greece. Dr. Farnell seems clearly right (p. 85) in rejecting Bather's theory (*J. H. S.*, 1894, pp. 244-246) of a primitive Greek Dionysos ; the name is the important consideration, and it is likely that it is not Greek, though Aryan. More doubtful is his acceptance (p. 110) of the explanation of the second birth of Dionysos from the thigh of Zeus as a relic of adoption by the father, a trace of the advance from matrilinear to patrilinear descent. This seems a far-fetched hypothesis, for the invention may either be a freak of the savage imagination, or a reminiscence of the fact—attested for many parts of the world by the examples cited in Crawley's *Mystic Rose*—that the father on the occasion of childbirth treats himself and is treated as if he were the actual producer of the child. On the other hand, Dr. Farnell has a very satisfactory explanation (p. 181) of the trieteric Dionysiac festivals; he connects them with the primitive mode of agriculture which changes fields periodically. To secure the fertility of the new lands the Mainads must refresh their magic powers by an act of solemn communion with the god, an act quite different from the ordinary annual ritual connected with the death and revival of the vegetation god or his representative.

Much light is also thrown by the author on the origin of tragedy. He rejects the traditional derivation of tragedy from the dithyramb and the satyric drama, the proposed interpretation of tragedy as the 'beer-song,' and the supposed origin of the drama in the solemn mimetic funeral dances performed in honour of the dead, as seen in the tragic choruses which were performed in honour of Adrastos at Sikyon. He insists (pp. 235 *et seq.*) that the 'goat-song' was the song of worshippers dressed as goats, who thus put themselves in contact with the god who was at times incarnate in the goat, and he compares the goat-men who take part in the modern Dionysiac carnival in Thrace. He also lays stress on the legend of the slaying of Xanthos by Melanthos, and sees in this with Usener[1] a variation of the struggle between winter and summer or spring, and he points out that there are here all the elements from which tragedy could be developed. His theory may be illustrated by a fact to which we have called attention elsewhere in its bearing on dramatic origins. The earliest notice of the Indian drama which we certainly possess is that contained in the *Mahābhāṣya*, or 'great commentary' on the grammar of Pāṇini, a work of about 145 B.C.[2] In illustrating the use of the present of the causative, the commentator alludes to the story of Kaṃsa's death at the hands of Kṛṣṇa. He tells us that it was represented by actors who actually killed Kaṃsa—we may hope merely in show, the whole being a sort of Punch-and-Judy show with human actors—

[1] *Archiv f. Religionswiss*, 1904, 303-313.

[2] See Weber *Indische Studien*, xiii. 354, 488 *et seq.*; Keith, *Aitareya Āranyaka*, pp. 21 *et seq.*

and also that it was represented by rhapsodists (*granthika*) who reproduced in dialogue the feelings of the person concerned in the whole episode of the relations of Kaṃsa and Kṛṣṇa, part taking one side, part the other, and the supporters of Kaṃsa having black faces, the supporters of Kṛṣṇa having red faces. The notice is of importance, for it suggests that Dr. Farnell may be premature in rejecting the development of the drama from the dithyramb. The performance of the rhapsodists seems to show a stage intermediate between the dithyrambs and the drama proper, which would eventuate when the element of acting was superadded to the recitation. There must have been dialogue in the recitation, and the conflict of 'black' and 'red' men is clearly a remnant of a nature conflict between the representatives of winter and spring or summer, in which the 'black' man is in this case the victim. Moreover, in the Hindu version the play cannot have been altogether tragic, for Kaṃsa is killed and the young Kṛṣṇa is preserved. It is fair to suppose that the primitive Attic drama combined both elements of tragedy and comedy, and it may well be that after all Aristotle is right in holding that the early drama was only slowly developed into the solemn tragedy which no doubt marks one side of the Attic drama; the practice of writing 'satyric' dramas can thus best be accounted for, and it is admitted that Æschylus is not adverse to an admixture of somewhat broad comedy with his tragedy. Dr. Farnell argues that the Greek drama was essentially a sad one, for it commemorated the death of the god in winter, not his triumph in spring; but this is perhaps doubtful, and it may well be that the legends of Pentheus and Lykourgos contain some recollection of the opposition of the winter and the spring and the triumph of the latter. The *Bacchae* is indeed a tragic work, but it celebrates the triumph of the god, not his death.

It must suffice to allude briefly to one or two other points of special importance. The Lenaia is correctly explained (p. 218) as a festival of the Lenai or Mainads, and the Anthesteria receives a satisfactory explanation as a wine festival which was combined with a worship of the spirits of the dead, a view much more plausible than Miss Harrison's theory of a wine festival superseding and transforming a festival of the dead. In the treatment of the Erinyes great importance is laid (p. 440) on the clear signs that the Erinys was more than a mere curse; the Tilphousian Erinys of Haliartos and the Demeter Erinys of Thelpousa point to the earth goddess herself as lying beneath the later conception. The pale figure of Hestia stands in strange contrast to the Vedic Agni, a fact doubtless due in no small measure to the fact that Agni is connected with the sun, and the sun in India is a greater divinity than in Greece, where Rhodes alone is devoted to his worship. Dr. Farnell is probably right in recognizing in Crete in the period of its greatness a pre-Hellenic stock (p. 389), though it is unwise to make any assertion about Pelasgians; but it seems difficult to contend that Hephaistos is not really Greek, and we are inclined to doubt whether the historic method has cast more light on the problem of the Amazons (p. 405) than the theory of *ἱερόδουλοι*: its appli-

cation so far seems to us more speculative than sound. But in general the treatment of the minor cults such as those of Ares and Pan or the Charites is extremely satisfactory and convincing.

Considering the length of the book and its nature, misprints of a serious type are very rare, but the author shows a curious inconsistency in his method of citing the *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, and it is much to be regretted that he has not supplied a complete index. The few pages of index supplied will be found if relied upon merely to be misleading and confusing; the work of index-making is no doubt tedious and uninteresting, but a great and standard treatise cannot be satisfactorily used unless an adequate index is provided.

A. Berriedale Keith.

A NEW TRANSLATION OF HORACE'S ODES.

The Odes of Horace rendered into English with other Verses and Translations. By Francis Law Latham, M.A., Brasenose College, Oxford. London: Smith, Elder and Co. 1910. Pp. 257. 6s. net.

It is not for lack of precepts of what a translation of Horace should seek nor of examples of what it should avoid if translators still flutter heedlessly to the Venusian lamp. The prefaces of Conington and Gladstone supply directions to those who would versify the Odes, and a judicious blend of their recommendations leaves us, theoretically, little to desire. But alas for the gulf which is set between what should be and what can be done, and that as great which stretches between what ought to be and what is! Whether the difficulty of translating the lyrics of Horace is so near an impossibility as that of translating the lyrics of Heine we need not now stop to inquire, as the author of this version, like many other reasonable persons, is committed to the contrary. But we must inquire whether his rendering takes proper account of the conditions which should be satisfied if even relative success is to be attained.

First, as Conington and Gladstone lay down, a translation of Horace must be terse. The latter calls this 'the necessity of compression,' by which however I imagine he does not mean that Horace should be abbreviated,[1] but that the English version should not exceed in extent the just equivalent of the Latin. In ordinary circumstances the carrying capacity of the English ten-syllabled verse is nearly the same as that of the Latin hexameter. This is well known to all who have turned English heroics into Latin; and, to take the converse case, Mr. Billson's translation of the *Aeneid* is hardly at any disadvantage compared with Mr. Rhoades's because it renders line for line.

Now the metrical equivalent of the Horatian Sapphic is 31 long syllables or half feet, just over $2\frac{1}{2}$ hexameter lines. This would correspond to just over 25 syllables in English. An allowance then of 28 syllables, the content of

[1] Later on he says, 'He (i.e. the translator) should largely abridge the syllabic length of the Latin text, should carry compression to the farthest practicable point.'

the stanza used by Conington, should be sufficient for the translator. For example *Odes* II. xvi. 29-32 :

abstulit clarum cita mors Achillem ;
longa Tithonum minuit senectus
et mihi forsan tibi quod negarit
porriget hora.

may, without sacrifice of the content, be given thus :

Quick death sweeps off Achilles' fame ;
Tithonus wastes in lingering eld ;
And time may reach to me the grace
From thee withheld.

But Mr. Latham takes the equivalent of a Latin hexameter for each of the three first lines with the following result :

Swift death renowned Achilles did surprise,
Age long protracted laid Tithonus low,
And on me haply what it thee denies
Shall life bestow.

The calculation of the content of the other stanza most employed by Horace, the Alcaic strophe, is a little more intricate by reason of the varieties which it allows, but we may reckon it as about equal to 28 half feet in English ; 30 therefore would give the translator a margin of 2. But Mr. Latham takes 36 for his minimum.

Odes II. xiv. 13-16 :

frustra cruento Marte carebimus
fractisque rauci fluctibus Hadriae ;
frustra per autumnos nocentem
corporibus metuemus Austrum.

he renders thus :

In vain we shun the bloody fields of war
And broken billows of hoarse Hadria's main,
In vain through autumns Auster keep afar
Our mortal bodies' bane.

No italics are needed to show the reader that he could dispense with some of this. He will feel for instance that *corporibus*, a characteristic example of Latin concreteness, is over-translated.[1] In English it should be a touch and no more.

In vain we shun th' ensanguined field
And Hadria's hoarsely breaking surge,
Shrink from the South wind's sickly breath,
Of autumn hours the scourge.

[1] There is the same error in Conington's shorter version quoted on p. 293 below.

Mr. Latham's treatment of the Alcaic stanza may be used to raise a question of principle about which our two preceptors are disagreed. Gladstone argues against the rule of Conington that all odes which Horace has written in one and the same metre are to be rendered in the same metre by his translators. He says:

> 'I think there are at least two fundamental objections to this rule. The first is that the quantity of matter which the poet has given in the same forms of stanza is by no means uniform; and if uniformity is to govern the translation, the space available for conveying what has to be conveyed will sometimes be too great and sometimes too small. There is another objection which lies yet nearer the root of the matter. Horace has employed the same metre for Odes the most widely divergent in subject and character. Nothing, for example, can be farther apart in their spirit than Ode I. ix, suggested by the view of Soracte, and the great Ode of Regulus (III. v), the loftiest in the whole collection. But these are both written in Alcaics.... Horace knew the capacities of his respective metres, and how far he could make each of them elastic for particular varieties of use. But it does not follow that any one English metre which the translator may have chosen for some one Horatian Ode will be equally supple and equally effective for conveying the spirit and effect of every other Ode which Horace may have found it practicable to construct under the same metrical conditions. Every one of the Odes has a spirit, genius and movement of its own; and I hold that the translator from Horace should both claim and exercise the largest possible freedom in varying his metres, so as to adapt them in each case to the original with which he has to deal.'

I have quoted Gladstone's argument at length because the theory which he advocates appears to have had great speciousness for the translators of Horace and because in particular Mr. Latham's practice conforms to it. It will not bear examination. It mixes up two diverse qualities of metres—facility or tractability and receptivity or colourlessness. It is not correct to suggest that the English metres are less 'supple' than the Latin metres which they are used to render. Apart from the question of rhyme, which will be dealt with below, the very opposite is the case. In his emancipation from the restrictions of quantity and disregard of the concurrence of vowels the modern verse writer has a freedom which would have astounded a Roman. He can range over a wide field of synonyms without troubling himself about their metrical convenience. His hero can '*scale* the heights' or '*climb* the heights' with indifference to his verse, unlike the Roman who has to take a different route of expression according as he *scandit, ascendit* or *conscendit* his *montem*. Nor is it true to suggest that the English metres have so marked an individuality of their own as to unfit them for the various uses to which the

Latin metres are turned. The mere inspection of the specimens already quoted will show that this is not the case, and that the Alcaic and the Sapphic of Horace have metrically a much more distinctive character than the metres of the versions. The difficulties in the path of the translator of Horace are great enough, heaven knows; but he is not to seek for them here. It is, I do not question, the fact that he will obtain for himself some occasional ease and relief by shifting from one metre to another; and if his design is only to render single odes such variation may perhaps be deemed excusable. But the translator of the whole collection can claim no such liberty. It is not the least characteristic feature of Horace's lyrical compositions that the *same* metre is employed for odes of a very different spirit. This sameness in diversity is of the essence of his art and to obliterate it in translation is an infidelity of the highest order, to be condemned all the more unflinchingly because it is likely to escape the readers for whom the translation is intended.

That Mr. Latham gains nothing by this licence we may take one example to show. Here is his translation of *Odes* II xv 13-16:

priuatus illis census erat breuis,
commune magnum; nulla decempedis
metata priuatis opacam
porticus excipiebat Arcton.

The private revenue was scanty then,
But large the common stock: no colonnade
Measured by ten-foot rule for private men
Was built to catch the cool dark Northern shade.

Here he spreads the Latin over 40 half feet instead of 36 and sacrifices the indication of the metrical change at the end of the strophe which a shorter fourth line gives, however imperfectly, by substituting 10 syllables for 6 and so producing a homogeneous double-rhymed quatrain. Is this worth while? Is it even necessary?

Scanty with them the private stock,
The common great. No ten-foot rule
Laid wide their private porticoes
To catch the Northern cool.

But while Mr. Latham has in this respect taken a liberty which must be termed unauthorized, in another respect he has fettered himself unnecessarily. I refer to his use of double rhymes. As here too he can plead the example of predecessors (e.g. Conington and Gladstone both employ them) I must consider the matter from one of its general aspects. The effect of a rhyme is to unify. When the rhyming word strikes the ear, the mind at once connects the verse which it ends with the verse which its fellow has terminated. Accordingly the rhyming distich is suitable for rendering an elegiac couplet but unsuitable for rendering epic verse, for which in consequence it is now but

rarely employed. Horace's Odes are composed in quatrains: and a rhyme in the fourth line has a quite definite and useful function to perform. It binds the four lines together and gives the impression of a whole. But a second rhyme is of no value in this regard. It is at best superfluous and often, as in the Alcaic stanza, suggests a correspondence which does not exist. In our language proper rhymes are hard enough to find; why then should a translator handicap himself by hunting out twice as many as he needs? For this imprudence his work must pay the price. This may be seen from the words in italics in the following renderings of Mr. Latham.

> Venus, of Cnidos and of Paphos queen,
> Spurn thy loved Cyprus, and to that fair shrine
> Where Glycera with thick incense calls thee *lean*
> Thy course divine.
>
> (I xxx 1 sqq.)

(The Latin is 'te—transfer in aedem.')

> Nor did the laws allow the common sod
> Slighted to leave, at charges of the State
> Our cities and the temples of the *God*
> Bidding with fresh-hewn stone to decorate.
>
> (II xv 13 sqq.)

(The Latin is 'templa *deum*.')

> Will visit Britons savage to their *guest*
> Concanians revelling in horses' blood
> Gelonians for the war *with quiver dressed*,
> And still inviolate the Scythian flood.
>
> (III iv 33-36.)

(The Latin is *hospitibus* 'strangers' and *pharetratos*.)

> Not, if Maeonian Homer the first *seat*
> Has ta'en, is hid Simonides from us,
> And Pindar, and Alcaeus' *verse of threat*,
> And the grave Muses of Stesichorus.
>
> (IV ix 5-8.)

From time to time Mr. Latham gives up the struggle and leaves the first and third lines unrhymed, as in I ix. 1, 3, III xiii. 13, 15, IV xi. 9, 11. Nor do we feel the loss.

And now a word upon vocabulary. I doubt if Mr. Latham has realized the importance to a translator of the difference between two strata in our English tongue upon which I have lately had occasion to insist.[1] A Latin writer's effects will be marred by a translation which, *except of necessity*, uses words obviously borrowed from Latin to express them. What frigidity Latinisms produce in poetry may be seen from Thomson's *Seasons*. Accordingly

[1] *Dead Language and Dead Languages* (Murray, 1910), pp. 19 and 20.

the translator of Horace must distinguish as sharply between the native and the Latin words in English as he must between the Roman and the Greek words in Latin. If he does not, he will infallibly turn what is natural and instinctive into what is artificial and conventional.[1] I do not find that this has been sufficiently present to Mr. Latham.

In his version of IV viii he has 'art *rarities*' for *artium*, 'indicate' for *indicant*, 'invidious' for *inuida*, 'obscured' to translate *obstaret*, 'glorify' for *consecrat*, 'strenuous' for *impiger*, all of them alien representatives of native Latin. In the same poem 'The *lustrous* star of the Tyndaridae' strikes a false note to those who remember that the original is '*clarum* Tyndaridae sidus,' which rings as true as the beginning of Keats's last sonnet,

> Bright star, would I were steadfast as thou art.

And so Conington's 'unharmed' translates *inuiolatus* (III iv. 36) better than does Mr. Latham's 'inviolate' and his 'graceless' *famosis* (III xv. 3) better than the latter's 'infamous.'

One of the most instructive instances is *Odes* I iii 21 sqq.

> God's providence in vain
> With the *unsocial* Ocean did divide
> Far lands, if o'er the main
> Which none may touch bound ships in impious pride.
>
> nequiquam Deus abscidit
> prudens Oceano *dissociabili*
> terras si tamen impiae
> non tangenda rates transiliunt uada.

In the commonwealth of words *social* and *unsocial* belong to an entirely different class from *dissociabilis*, to the circles of fashion and convention, while *dissociabilis* with its kinship to *socius*, *socio* and the active force of its verbal form belongs to the antique Roman stock. This has been seen, and the Horatian epithet translated once and for all by a scholar and a poet.

> A God, a God their severance ruled!
> And bade betwixt their shores to be
> The unplumb'd, salt, *estranging* sea.
>
> Matthew Arnold *Switzerland*.

I do not know that I need say much of what is so often the despair of translators of the Odes—the rendering of proper names. Criticism need not trouble herself to appraise the several versions of that magical stanza which

[1] The use of Greek derivatives for the purpose of conveying an air of unreality in Latin which I have pointed out in the pamphlet above cited may be illustrated from Juvenal iii. 68.

> et *ceromatico* fert *niceteria* collo

of the Roman whom Greek fashions have denationalized.

took captive the fancy of Milton, himself a consummate artist in this province,

qui rore puro Castaliae lauit
crines solutos, qui Lyciae tenet
dumeta natalemque siluam
Delius et Patareus Apollo
(III iv. 64)

whether Conington's

Who laves in clear Castalian flood
His locks, and loves the leafy growth
Of Lycia next his native wood,
The Delian and the Pataran both.

or Mr. Latham's

Who laves with the pure dew of Castaly
His loosened locks, who brakes of Lycia
Haunts and the wood of his nativity,
Phoebus of Delos and of Patara.

nor those of the finale of the great Ode where the high anthem of Regulus dies away as it seems on the far-off stillness of the proper names,

quam si clientum longa negotia
diiudicata lite relinqueret
tendens Venafranos in agros
aut Lacedaemonium Tarentum
(III v)

for which Conington gives

As though some tedious business o'er
Of clients' court, his journey lay
Towards Venafrum's grassy floor,
Or Sparta-built Tarentum's bay

and Mr. Latham

As if he left his clients' suits at rest
Debated and adjudged each tedious plea,
And towards Venafrum's fields his course addressed
Or towards Tarentum Sparta's progeny.

De minimis non curat lex. They have failed; but who will succeed?

These refractory proper names are indeed the chiefest trial and temptation of the translator of Horace. They are for the most part incompressible, and they seem to drive him to what we have seen are the illegitimate devices of perpetual or occasional expansion (variation). The relief thus gained is real though insignificant. We may note it in II xiv 'eheu! fugaces *Postume,*

Postume | labuntur anni' for which Mr. Latham can give 'Ah Postumus! ah Postumus!' but Conington has 'Ah Postumus!' only, and in the same Ode he can render *Sisyphus Aeolides* by 'Aeolid Sisyphus' which is superior to Conington's 'ancient Sisyphus.'

The quotations already given from Mr. Latham's book will have been enough to give an idea of its general style, so that it is only needful to add that as a version it is close to the original, and that, though on the one hand it does not attain to the deftness and ease of Conington, on the other hand it is in the main free from the weaknesses and lapses in taste which from time to time disfigure the older translation. As an example we may take the rendering of II xiv. 13-16 (above p. 287), which may be compared with Conington's:

> In vain we shun war's contact red
> Or storm-tost spray of Hadrian main:
> In vain, the season through, we dread
> For our frail lives Scirocco's bane.

Mr. Latham moreover has given us what Conington has not, a complete translation of the Odes.

The volume in addition includes a version of the last elegy of Propertius from the vulgate text forced into quatrains, one of Schiller's Cassandra and a few original poems.

J. P. Postgate.

SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS.

GENERAL.

Classical Philology. Vol. 5. No. 1. 1910.

Certain Numerals in the Greek Dramatic Hypotheses, Roy C. Flickinger. *Studies in the MSS of the Third Decade of Livy*, IV, F. W. Shipley. *Propertius as Praeceptor Amoris*, Arthur Leslie Wheeler. *Odyssean Words Found in but One Book of the Iliad*, John A. Scott. *Philosophaster Once More*, Andrew F. West. *Benzo of Alexandria and Catullus*, William Gardner Hale. *Hieremias de Montagnone and his Citations from Catullus*, B. L. Ullman. *A Greek Analogue of the Romance Adverb*, Paul Shorey. *The Name 'Ten Thousand,'* Robert J. Bonner. Notes and Discussions. λιπαραὶ Ἀθῆναι, E. B. Clapp. *Aristophanes' Clouds*, 1472-4, W. A. Oldfather. *Plautus Trinummus* 675, Henry W. Prescott. Reviews.

No. 2.

Sophokles und die Sophistik, Wilhelm Nestle. *The Versus inconditi of Pap. Oxyrhynch.* 219, Henry W. Prescott. *The Olympic Victory of Agias of Thessaly*, Kendall K. Smith. *On the Eight-Book Tradition of Pliny's* Letters *in Verona*, Elmer Truesdell Merrill. *Herrick and Martial*, Paul Nixon. *Notes upon the Ephodia of Greek Ambassadors*, W. L. Westermann. Notes and Discussions. *Passer* Catull. *carm. ii*, J. S. Phillimore. *Some Indic Cognates of Greek* τηλίκος, Truman Michelson. *Homer* Iliad 24. 367 *and Plato* Republic 492 *C*, Paul Shorey. *Philosophaster Again*, F. M. Foster. Reviews.

No. 3.

The Athenian Phratries, William Scott Ferguson. *The latest Dated Inscription from Lavinium*, Walter Dennison. *The Three Actor Rule in Menander*, Kelley Rees. *Greek and Latin Etymologies*, Francis A. Wood. *The Sign of Interrogation in Greek Minuscule Manuscripts*, Charles Brewster Randolph. *The Harrison Papyri*, Edgar J. Goodspeed. *Studies in Greek Noun-Formation*, E. H. Sturtevant. Morris Hicky Morgan, *Obituary Notice of*, H. W. P. Notes and Discussions. *The Diplomacy of Q. Marcius in* 169 *B.C.*, Tenney Frank. *The So-called 'Archen Basileus' and Plato* Menexenus 238 D, Paul Shorey. *A Greek Proverb in Modern Irish*, Edward Godfrey Cox. *Greek Law in Roman Comedy*, Max Radin. *On the Construction of* facere 'sacruficare'; quasi 'donare,' Edwin W. Fay. *Emendation of Herodian* περὶ σχημάτων, Paul Shorey. *A New Edition of Strabo. A correction.* Reviews.

Rivista di Filologia e d' Istruzione Classica. Vol. 38. No. 1. 1910.

Flavian problems, Vincenzo Ussani. I. The testimony of Christ in Josephus *Ant.* XVIII. 3. 3 is not a forgery pure and simple, but the text has been tampered with by a Christian. II. Another instance is *Ant.* XX. 9. 1 where the present text of Josephus and the ancient translations show no trace of the statement attributed

to Josephus by Origen, Eusebius and St. Jerome that the fall of Jerusalem was a punishment from heaven, διὰ Ἰάκωβον τὸν δίκαιον τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἰησοῦ τοῦ λεγομένου Χριστοῦ. ATAKTA, Angelo Taccone. I. *Od.* XIII. 329 sqq. line 332 whose apparent irrelevance provoked the interpolation 333-8 is not a general reference to Odysseus's characteristics of cleverness (ἐπήτης), presence of mind (ἀγχίνοος) and wariness (ἐχέφρων), but to those qualities as shown in his speech immediately preceding (312-328). II. On the placing of Eur. *fragm.* 879, 916, 979 (Nauck) which belong to the *Hypsipyle*. III. In the short elegy published in *Berliner Klassiker Texte* V. 2 pp. 62-3 l. 6 the correctness of the papyrus's οἷα . . . φέρειν after τοιαῦτα is defended. *Once more on Italic* -f- *and Latin* -b- *and their successors in Romance*, Giulio Bertoni. A number of Latin words examined in their relations to Romance. *Lycurgus*, Vincenzo Costanzi. Critical examination of the legends. L. is no man but a divine personage invested with humanity. *On the inscription on Trajan's Column*, Pietro Rasi. The words *ad declarandum quantae altitudinis mons et locus tant*[*is oper*]*ibus sit egestus* refer to the quarrying of the marble, *mons et locus* being a hendiadys. Dion Cassius's account is rejected. *Varia* V., Luigi Valmaggi. *The accentuation of Greek words in Latin.* There were two systems current in classical times, the older one which followed the Latin rules, and the later one which subsequently prevailed, in which the accent was kept on the same syllable as in Greek. *On the exordium to the* Octavius *of Minucius Felix.* Controverts Elter's interpretation of *inhaesit* and his deductions therefrom. *Latin and Greek etymologies* (continued), Oreste Nazari. *Mars* (and *Mamers*) and Ἄρης are both from rt *mar* (*m̥r*) as in μάρναμαι. *The legend of the Wolf and the Twins*, Gaetano de Sanctis. The bronze wolf in the Palazzo dei Conservatori is not the figure spoken of by Cicero *de Divin.* I. 20 and elsewhere. Its origin and import are unknown. The legend had already sprung up when about 296 the Ogulnii dedicated a bronze group (which is neither that in the Palazzo dei Conservatori nor the one that Dionysius saw near the Lupercal) near the *Ficus Ruminalis* in the Comitium, the only tree of the kind which existed in classical times. *Per l'Officina dei Papiri Ercolanesi*, Domenico Bassi. An 'open letter' to the editor, pleading for a reconstitution of the Institute and urging the importance of the Herculaneum papyri, accompanied by a facsimile from Pap. 1426 Φιλοδήμου περὶ ῥητορικῆς. *Notes on the Chronological Interpolations in the first two books of Xenophon's* Hellenica, Luigi Pareti. *Stichometry in the Herculaneum papyri*, Domenico Bassi. Addendum to the paper published in vol. 37. Reviews. Necrology (E. S. Piccolomini, G. Tropea, F. Porena). Summaries of Periodicals, D. Bassi.

No. 2.

The Tragodopodagra *of Lucian*, Giovanni Setti. An account of this burlesque tragedy on the gout with extracts, to which is added a brief mention of the *Ocypus*, a smaller and spurious example of the same treatment. An *Appendix Critica* deals with some difficulties in the text. *The authenticity of the* Appendix Vergiliana, Massimo Lenchantin de Gubernatis. A summary, chiefly on the lines of F. Vollmer's *Die Kleineren Gedichte Vergils*, of the evidence for the Vergilian authorship. *Annalistic Studies* (*the names of generals* exterarum gentium), Giovanni Costa. Defends Beloch's view against De Sanctis' criticisms *Rivista* vol. 36[1] by producing parallels to the concocted list of Samnite generals in the First Samnite War. *Schematic Relation between Tacitus Suetonius and Dio Cassius*, Emanuele Ciaceri. The tendency of the historians of the early empire to divide the emperors' reigns into two sharply contrasted periods which has been observed in the accounts of Tiberius, Gaius and Claudius is at the bottom of Tacitus' sketch of Tiberius, *Annals* VI. 57, which is an artistic blend of what were ultimately contradictory views of the emperor's character

[1] See *Classical Quarterly*, 1908, p. 320.

and policy. *On a Passage of Horace*, Giacomo Dominici. The text of *Epod.* V. 87 sq. is sound, and means that sorcery cannot change human destiny (*humanam uicem*) which is fixed by immutable laws of what is allowed or forbidden by the gods (*magnum fas nefasque*), or these words may be appositive to *uenena*, in which case they will express a single compound idea in which the evil element is predominant as in 'by fair means or *foul*,' cf. Livy VI. 14. 10 'per omne fas ac nefas.' *De Hygini* Astronomicon *atque excerpti* de Astrologia *Arati codicibus Florentinis*, E. Lasinio. Notes and excerpts. *Juvenal* S. I. 170-1, Santi Consoli. Recommends the readings '*qui* (=quo modo) concedatur [dicere]—*legitur* (=colligitur) cinis.' *Suetonius* Gr. 2, Luigi Valmaggi. Traverses H. Rotter's inference from this passage that the division of Ennius's Annals into books was due to the grammarian Q. Vargunteius. Reviews. Summaries of periodicals.

No. 3.

Unpublished Fragments of Works of Philodemos (περὶ μουσικῆς—περὶ θεῶν?—περὶ ῥητορικῆς) *in Herculanean Papyri*, Domenico Bassi. Transcript and comments. *On Rutilius*, Vincenzo Ussani. Notes on various passages, I. 13 (*gloria* preferred to *curia*), 54, 64 *iniustis* defended by Lucan. 3. 228, 76, 79 *Romanus recessus* compared to Vulgate *Sophon.* III. 6 'dissipati sunt *anguli earum*,' 86, 102, 131, 132, 145, 249, 262, 287 *cladis* is to be joined with *inter seria*, 320 *Ionias* defended as a brachylogy, 335, 368, 373 *hilares fagi* defended by Plin. *H. N.* 16. 19, 381 sqq. regard Judaism only, 400 punctuate *surgere ; certamus dum*, etc., 401, 415 *crebrescit = crebro it*, 421, 429, 443-4 important for the history of monasticism, 461, 478, 524, 526, 527-30, 551, 560, 571 refers to the legend of the foundation of the Pisas given by Pliny *H. N.* 3. 58, 595, 643 the *alius orbis* is Britain or, preferably, the Antipodes, II. 7. *The Third Satire of Horace*, Concetto Marchesi. An analysis of the Satire with reference to the juristic and politico-social theories of the times. *Collectanea Latina*, Ettore Bignone. On Lucr. I. 657 l. 'contraria *mire*,' 752 l. 'consistere <demum>,' IV. 418, 952 sq., VI. 92 sqq. v. 47 should stand before 92; Lucr. is imitating Empedocles, fr. 13 and 4 (Diels). The two lines 'quorum—rentur' which the MSS have after 55 and after 89 should be placed after 'in oris' 61. Catullus 31. 13, 64. 16, Lygdamus 4. 26, Minuc. *Octau.* 14. 1, 16. 1 l. 'utrum *nimia eruditione* turbata sit.' *The Fate of Great Souls according to the Ancient Poets*, Santi Consoli. A collection of passages illustrating the belief in an apotheosis or change of life after death. Reviews. Summaries of Periodicals.

Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum, etc. 25. 5. 1910.

W. Vollgraff, *Rhodos oder Argos.* The story of the twelve labours of Heracles is Argive, though in the classical form of it a Rhodian poet has changed the original form of the Geryon legend, preserved by Hecataeus and Arr. *Anab.* 2. 16, in which G. was a King of Epirus, not Spain. And significantly enough in Epirus are found traces of Argive, not Rhodian colonies, whilst in Spain the converse holds good. W. Kroll, *Moderne lateinische Syntax.* Emphasizes the growth of the psychological and historical methods, the 'paper style' of Silver Latin, and the help given by our knowledge of the *clausula*-rhythm. R. Schneider, *Vom Büchlein 'De rebus bellicis.'* Maintains against Mommsen the fourteenth century as the date of composition. O. A. Hecker, *Kurfürst Moritz von Sachsen nach den Briefen an seine Frau.* P. Simon, *Schiller's 'Spaziergang.'* *Anzeigen und Mitteilungen :* D. H. Lietzmann, *Bemerkungen zur Handschriften-Photographie ;* V. Gardthausen, *Der Tod des Masistios bei Herodot.* Summary of Wright's article in Transactions of Connecticut Academy (1909); O. Clemen, *Spalatin über die Auffindung einer antiken Mädchenleiche in Rom 1485.* The epitaph given by S. obviously a late forgery ; Nestle's *Vorsokratiker* reviewed by

K. Weller: 'stimulating for philosophers, historians and philologists'; H. Schrader's *Archaische Marmorskulpturen im Akropolismuseum zu Athen* noticed by G. Weicker; P. Bolchert's *Aristoteles' Erdkunde von Asien und Libyen* noticed by W. Ruge, who shews that A. always means the Indian Ocean by ἐρυθρὰ θάλαττα.

25. 6. 1910.

C. Rouge, *Bestattungssitten im alten Griechenland*. Against Dörpfeld's views as to the prevalence of cremation, or at any rate some application of fire to the corpse, in the pre-Mycenean, Mycenean (Homeric), and classical periods. Severe criticism of D.'s interpretation of *Phaed.* 115. Believes with Meyer that cremation is an old Indo-Germanic custom. W. Süss, *Die Technik der Aristophanischen Komödie*. Account of Aristophanes-criticism in modern times (especially Lessing and the Romantic school). Importance of Zielinski's *agon*-discovery and Poppelreuter's 'Kasperle' theory. Such a form of comedy contains the germs of the comedy of intrigue and character. I. Hammer-Jensen, *Die Druckwerke Herons von Alexandria*. Hero a man incapable of understanding his authorities, Philo and a not inconsiderable number of writers on Pneumatics of later date than him. O. F. Walzel, *Neues von und über Ibsen. Anzeigen und Mitteilungen:* M. Wundt's *Geschichte der griech. Ethik* (vol. i.) briefly summarized and praised by P. Immisch; Th. Meyer's *Theodorus Priscianus und die röm. Medizin* noticed by J. I.; O. Clemen, *Ein deutsches Testamentum porcelli*. Text of a version by a J. Weber, from Luscinius' text.

Mnemosyne. 38. 3. 1910.

P. H. Damsté, *De telo quodam*. Sees in *aclis*, *cateia* and *tragula* ancient forms of the boomerang. *Celebratus* in Sil. 7. 318 (of the *tragula*) means 'often used,' i.e. 'always available.' Idem, *C. I. L. I*[1] *1166 X 5807*. Read *aquam in opidum adou<cendam>*. J. C. Naber, *Obss. de uire Romano*. CII Quibus modis in ius pignoris succedatur. P. J. M. van Gils, *De noua scheda Ouidiana*. Readings of a fragment of a thirteenth-century MS. (A. A. 1. 239-378). I. Vürtheim, *De Soph. Phil.* vs. 732 *sqq.* Closely resemble Arist. *Ran.* 644 *sqq.* L. Rank, *Obss. ad Phaedrum*, I prol. 3. *Dos=momentum, auctoritas:* cp. Ou. *Am.* 3. 8. 2; 12. 15. Read *quantum* in se fucum *habuerint;* 22. 15 *impudentius;* II prol. 12 *ita* si *rependit* illi etc. The order of ll. 5-12 to be as follows: 12, 8-11, 5-7; 5. 19 *sqq.* Read l. 20 after l. 21, omitting l. 20 as a gloss; III 6. 5, 6. Read *uerberat . . . temperat* for *temperat . . . continet;* 8. 15 *fuces* (for *uincas*); 10. 30 *illum prope* (for *cubiculo*), etc. P. H. D., *Emendatur Sil. Ital.* 17. 450. *Sibila* (for *nubila*): cp. V. F. 7. 525. H. v. H., *Corrigendum*. Withdraws emendation made in last number, τοῦ διαμαρτεῖν being causal. gen. J. van Leeuwen, *Apollodori Chronicorum fragmenta noua?* The new fragments (published at Geneva) too slight to give us clear information on anything. A. G. Ross, *De fragmentis nonnullis e Dionys. Halicarnensis Antiquitatum Rom. libris postremis*. Rearranges the fragments of Books 16-19. *Exc. de uirt.* 5 and 6 should *precede Ambros.* h—j, which *Exc. de uirt.* 7 should follow. *Exc. de uirt.* 8 belongs to the digression on the early history of Magna Graecia (*Ambros.* n—t). *Exc. de uirt.* 10 is a unit, not to be divided as by Mai. J. Hartman, *Adnn. critt. ad Plutarchi opera*. Notes and emendations on the Camillus, Pericles, Fab. Max. (and *comp.*), Alcibiades, Coriolanus, Timoleon, Aem. Paulus (and *comp.*), Pelopidas, Marcellus.

Wochenschrift für Klassische Philologie. 1910.

7 Mar. Th. Birt, *Zur Kulturgeschichte Roms* (Nohl), favourable. R. Novák, *Quaestiones Apuleianae* (W. Heraeus), very favourable. *Libanii opera*, rec. R. Foerster, V. (R. Asmus), 'shows sound critical judgment.' C. L. Heiler, *De Tatiani apologetae dicendi genere* (J. Dräseke), favourable. Λαογραφία. Δελτίον τῆς ἑλληνικῆς λαογραφικῆς ἑταιρείας, I. 2. 3 (G. Wartenberg).

14 Mar. H. Schrader, *Archaische Marmorskulpturen im Akropolis-Museum zu Athen* (B. Schröder), favourable. G. Nicole, *Satyres et Silènes* (O. Engelhardt), favourable, in spite of some omissions. Ed. Meyer, *Theopomps Hellenika* (H. Swoboda), favourable. E. Krüger, *Die Trierer Romerbauten* (C. Koenen), favourable. *Augustini Scripta contra Donatistas* II. III. Rec. M. Petschenig and *Augustini Confessiones*, cur. F. Ramorino. Pars I. libr. I.-VII. (C. Weyman), favourable. P. Meyer, *Notice sur la bible des sept états du monde de Geufroi de Paris* (C. W.).

21 Mar. C. F. Lehmann-Haupt, *Armenien einst und jetzt*. I. *Vom Kaukasus zum Tigris und nach Tigranokerta* (C. Fries), favourable. E. Cavaignac, *Études sur l'histoire financière d'Athènes au Ve siècle. Le trésor d'Athènes* 480 *à* 404 (Fr. Cauer), favourable. *Herodotus* I., ed. by J. H. Sleeman (W. Gemoll). 'A careful, copious, and practical book.' H. B. Wright, *Herodotus' Source for the opening skirmish at Plataea* (H. Swoboda), favourable. J. van Leeuwen, *Prolegomena ad Aristophanem* (J. Wagner). 'Very learned.' Aem. Polczyk, *De unitatibus et loci et temporis in noua comoedia obseruatis* (P. Wessner). 'A diligent collection of material.' G. Némethy, *De Ouidio elegiae in Messallam auctore* (A. Körte), unfavourable. Th. Birt, *Eine römische Literaturgeschichte in fünf Vorträgen*. 2 Aufl. (J. Ziehen), very favourable.

28 Mar. v. Lichtenberg, *Haus, Dorf, Stadt* (A. Schulten). 'A useful collection of results, although incomplete.' W. E. J. Kuiper, *De Lysidis dialogi origine, tempore, consilio* (R. Adam), favourable. *The Works of Aristotle*, translated into English under the editorship of J. A. Smith and W. D. Ross. *De mirabilibus auscultationibus*, by L. D. Dowdall (H. Mutschmann). 'The translation is correct, but its object is not clear.' G. Hoffa, *De Seneca patre quaestiones selectae* (W. Gemoll). 'Learned and acute.' R. Friehe, *De Dictyis codice Aesino* (J. Dräseke). 'Deserves recognition for diligence and judgment.' J. Sajdak, *Quaestiones Nazianzenicae*. Pars I.: *Quae ratio inter Gregorium Nazianzenum et Maximum Cynicum intercedat* (J. Dräseke), favourable.

4 April. *Wiener Eranos*. Zur 50. Versammlung deutscher Philologen in Graz 1909. Contains 35 contributions. *Textes grecs inédits de la Collection papyrologique de Genève* par J. Nicole (W. Crönert). D. Detlefsen, *Bemerkungen zur alten Geschichte der cimbrischen Halbinsel* (F. Matthias), favourable. *Siluiae uel potius Aetheriae peregrinatio ad loca sancta*, herausg. von W. Heraeus (Th. Mayr), favourable. *Clemens Alexandrinus*, herausg. von O. Stählin. III. (J. Dräseke). 'Concludes Stählin's fine edition.'

11 April. A. Meillet, *Einführung in die vergleichende Grammatik der indogermanischen Sprachen*. Übersetzung von W. Printz (R. Wagner). 'Much to be recommended.' W. Schultz, *Rätsel aus dem hellenischen Kulturkreise*. I. *Die Rätselüberlieferung* (H. Blümner), favourable. R. Pappritz, *Epaminondas und seine Zeitgenossen* (G. J. Schneider), favourable. *Anecdota Oxoniensia* XI. *Iuuenta Italorum*, being a contribution to the textual criticism of Cicero pro Quinctio, pro Roscio comoedo, pro Caecina, de lege agraria contra Rullum, pro Rabirio, pro Flacco, in Pisonem, pro Rabirio Post., by A. C. Clark (J. K. Schönberger), favourable. A. Wilms, *Der Hauptfeldzug des Germanikus im Jahre* 15 *n. Chr.* (Ed. Wolff), favourable.

18 April. F. v. Duhn, Der Dioskurentempel in Neapel. Mit Abbildung (A. Trendelenburg). Th. Fitzhugh, *The Sacred Tripudium. The accentual and rhythmic norm of Italico-Romanic speech and verse* (H. G.), rather unfavourable. D. Wollner, *Die auf das Kriegswesen bezüglichen Stellen bei Plautus und Terentius*. II. 2 (P. Wessner), favourable. W. A. Merrill, *Cicero's knowledge of Lucretius' poem* (J. Tolkiehn), favourable. J. Dräseke, *Sur la question des Sources d'Anselme* (J. Dräseke). Fr. Strunz, *Beiträge und Skizzen zur Geschichte der Naturwissenschaften* (H. Gillischewski), very favourable.

25 April. K. Sudhoff, *Aus dem antiken Badewesen* (H. Blümner), favourable. R. J. Bonner, *The mutual intelligibility of Greek dialects* (R. Wagner), rather unfavourable. *Euripidis fabulae*, rec. G. Murray. III. (K. Busche). 'Shows sound and judicious criticism.' R. B. Steele, *Temporal clauses in Livy* (H. Blase). 'A careful and well-arranged collection.' U. Linnert, *Beiträge zur Geschichte Caligulas* (P. Fabia), unfavourable. O. Leuze, *Die römische Jahrzählung* (F. Reuss), favourable on the whole.

2 May. A. Fick, *Die Entstehung der Odyssee* (Ch. Hennings), unfavourable. H. Hoadley, *The authenticity and date of the Sophoclean Ajax verses* 1040–1420 (S. Mekler), unfavourable. L. Dalmasso, *L' arcaismo nell' Octavius di Minucio Felice* (C. W.), favourable. A. Elter, *Prolegomena zu Minucius Felix* (C. W.), favourable.

9 May, M. P. Foucart, *Les Athéniens dans la Chersonèse de Thrace au IVe siècle* (G. J. Schneider), favourable. G. Uhlmann, *De Sexti Properti genere dicendi* (M. Ites), favourable. P. Rasi, *Nuove osservazioni sul Carmen de pascha;* H. Kling, *De Hilario Pictauiensi artis rhetoricae ipsiusque ut fertur institutionis oratoriae Quintilianeae studioso;* V. Ussani, *Per un codice ignoto de 'De bono mortis' di S. Ambrogio;* V. Ussani, *Il cod. Torinense Lat. A.* 216. *Contributo alla critica di Gregorio da Tours e di Venanzio Fortunato* (C. W.), all favourable. J. Dräseke, *Die Schrift des Bischofs Phoebadius von Agennum 'Gegen die Arianer'* (J. Dräseke). G. Lampake, Οἱ ἑπτὰ ἀστέρες τῆς ἀποκαλύψεως (G. Wartenberg), favourable.

16 May. H. N. Fowler and J. R. Wheeler, *A Handbook of Greek Archaeology* (O. Engelhardt), very favourable. A. Gruhn, *Der Schauplatz der Ilias und Odyssee.* Heft 2, 3, 5 (C. Rothe), unfavourable. *Dissertationes philologicae Vindobonenses.* Vol. X. Pars I. J. Fischl, *De nuntiis tragicis* (K. Busche). 'Shows a thorough knowledge of the subject.' O. Henke and B. Lehmann, *Die neueren Forschungen über die Varusschlacht.* 'We can never get beyond probabilities.' Apuleius of Madaura, *The Metamorphoses or golden ass.* Transl. by H. E. Butler and *Lucretius on the nature of things.* Transl. by C. Bailey (C. W.), both favourable. Joannis Sarusberiensis, *Policratici siue de nugis curialium et uestigiis philosophorum* libri VIII. rec. C. C. J. Webb and Rogeri Baconis *Opera hactenus inedita.* I. *Metaphysica.* II. Liber I. *Communium naturalium*, partes I. et II. Ed. R. Steele (C. W.), both favourable.

23 May. A. Fick, *Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der indogermanischen Sprachen.* 4 Aufl. III. *Wortschatz der germanischen Spracheinheit.* Unter Mitwirkung von H. Falk gänzlich umgearb. von A. Tarp (R. Meringer). 'Very valuable and readable.' N. Wecklein, *Über die Hypsipyle des Euripides* (K. Busche), favourable. C. Jullian, *Histoire de la Gaule.* I. II. (H. Meusel). 'Excellent and rightly crowned by the French Academy.' P. F. Atenstädt, *Quellenstudien zu Stephanos von Byzanz.* I. *Alexander Polyhistor, Philon von Byblos und Hesychios von Milet* (Fr. Reuss), favourable.

30 May. E. Bethe, *Hektors Abschied* (C. Rothe), unfavourable. N. Terzaghi, *L' ombra di Achille* (O. Engelhardt), unfavourable. K. Conradt, *Die metrische und rhythmische Komposition der Komödien des Aristophanes.* I. (K. Löschhorn). 'An excellent work.' O. Jäger, *Geschichte der Griechen.* 8 Aufl. (G. J. Schneider), very favourable. J. P. Postgate, *Flaws in classical research* (H. Steinberg). 'Especially to be recommended to all young students of the classics.' W. Koehler, *Personifikationen abstrakter Begriffe auf römischen Münzen* (W. Thiele), favourable.

NOTICE OF EDITORIAL CHANGES

THE period for which the present editor undertook to edit the CLASSICAL QUARTERLY expires with the present number; and nothing intended for the editors of the Journal should in future be addressed to him. The new editors will be Professor E. V. ARNOLD, Bryn Seiriol, Bangor, North Wales, and Mr. F. W. HALL, St. John's College, Oxford. Contributions may be sent to either of the editors, or to Mr. E. HARRISON, Trinity College, Cambridge.

The CLASSICAL QUARTERLY will be conducted on the same general lines as heretofore; and the present editor retires in the confident hope that the same generous support from colleagues and contributors, for which during the past four years he has been so much indebted, and which he here most gratefully acknowledges, will be extended to his successors in the editorship.

THE UNIVERSITY, LIVERPOOL.
October 21, 1910.

CORRIGENDUM

In page 222, *note* 4, *line* 5: *for* "always" *read* "usually."

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